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Citation for published version (Harvard):

Olabarria, L 2020, 'Coming to terms with stelae: a performative approach to memorial stelae and chapels of Abydos in the Middle Kingdom', *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur (SAK)*, vol. 49.
<<https://buske.de/monographien-und-reihen/studien-zur-altagyptischen-kultur-sak/studien-zur-altagyptischen-kultur-bd-49-2020.html>>

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Coming to terms with stelae

A performative approach to memorial stelae and chapels of Abydos in the Middle Kingdom Leire Olabarria

Abstract

Abydos was an important cult site in Middle Kingdom Egypt, where processions in honour of Osiris attracted pilgrims from all across the territory. Artefacts—mainly stelae, but also statues and offering tables—have mostly been retrieved from the North Cemetery, a zone close to the wadi that served as the main processional route for festivities, and these constitute a rich resource for studying the site and how it was perceived in the Middle Kingdom. Their inscriptions occasionally allude to stelae and chapels, providing a unique way to approach the materiality of the Abydene landscape.

This article focuses on terminology for stelae and chapels in the Abydos North Offering Chapel area (ANOC), as employed mainly on Middle Kingdom stelae themselves. Several words—*ḥbꜣ*, *wꜥ*, *srḥ*, *šps*—seem to denote stelae, but nuances between them have rarely been explored. Their determinatives do not point toward any consistent difference in shape, so a contextual analysis of the terms may contribute to an understanding of the role that stelae played in the site's landscape. Chapels, of which some archaeological evidence remains, were a fundamental feature of Abydos sometimes referred to as *mḥꜣt*. Although the connection between these chapels and Osirian processions is well established, their function as material embodiments of the social fabric deserves further attention.

This article examines the relationships among these terms in order to determine the significance of memorial chapels and their associated stelae within the ritual and social setting of Abydos. Attitudes towards and expectations of these monuments, as identified in the inscriptions themselves, reveal how they were regarded as landmarks that endorsed a perception of Abydos as a locus of memory.

1. Introduction: stelae as agents in the landscape

Stelae are arguably some of the most ubiquitous objects in ancient Egyptian museum collections worldwide. Their inscriptions and depictions make them visually attractive to visitors, who perceive them as familiar objects due to their resemblance to modern tombstones. Ancient Egyptian stelae, however, were not just meant to mark the place of a burial, but fulfilled a variety of often overlapping functions, ranging from commemorative to apotropaic, which make them an ideal source to explore different aspects of ancient Egyptian lived experience.

Stelae are regularly used as crucial primary sources from which to gather information about various themes of Egyptian history and culture, but few systematic approaches to stelae have yet been attempted. Franke devised a theoretical framework that acknowledges the many different levels of evidence that stelae can provide,¹ and proposed that the information encoded on stelae (the output) is the result of a series of preconditions of production (the input) that researchers need to learn to decipher. For example, through shared stylistic features (output) one may be able to identify specific artistic workshops (input). This bidimensional approach highlights the importance of the material aspects of

¹ D. Franke–M. Marée, *Egyptian stelae in the British Museum from the 13th–17th centuries*. Volume I, Fascicule I: descriptions, London 2013, 2.

stelae themselves, which has received renewed attention over the last few years thanks to a resurgence in the study of workshops.²

Stelae have traditionally been seen as passive carriers of information rather than as an integral part of a socio-cultural setting. But if stelae are regarded as active participants that contribute to shaping networks of relationships that include monuments, people, and landscapes, then they may also facilitate social research. Stelae are not simply an addition to pre-existing landscapes, but an integral component of them. Stelae are however generally presented to the modern viewer in a decontextualised manner, albeit often as a direct result of their uncertain provenance. This is especially true in the case of Abydos, which is possibly the site from where most commemorative monuments were retrieved. Many stelae in the 19th and early 20th centuries were acquired through antiquities dealers, who did not record their provenance. Even when they came from controlled excavations, the reports do not tend to be as detailed as desirable, making it difficult—if not impossible—to reconstruct their original archaeological contexts.

The lack of reliable archaeological information can perhaps be tackled through a thorough study of the monuments themselves. There are a few cases in which inscriptions on stelae allude to the surrounding landscape in direct or indirect ways. In addition, there exist several terms that refer to stelae or to clusters of stelae, but the difference between these terms and the extent to which their use reflects something about the emic perception of the monuments still remain to be explored.

In this article I discuss the different terms for stelae and chapels in Abydos, paying particular attention to their determinatives in order to establish whether these can be considered as self-referential. In my view, the terms for stelae and the way they were used in inscriptions will sometimes reveal information about their archaeological contexts, allowing questions of their integration into the landscape to be addressed. Perhaps the typological classifications traditionally employed in Egyptology do not fully reflect the emic categorisation of these artefacts, and for this reason I also explore the effects that stelae and chapels might have had on the people who visited the site, concluding that the creation of loci of memory was one of their most important functions.

2. Terminology for stelae: frequency of use and choice of determinatives

In order to explore to what extent monuments act as agents in the construction of the landscape, it is first necessary to define stelae and chapels, as well as to examine how they were embedded in the Abydene setting. The nature and purposes of stelae and chapels are often taken for granted, even though the Egyptian terms denoting stelae have not been treated in detail. A better understanding of types of stelae and how these relate to their contexts may offer insights into their conceptualisation as monuments and, in particular, into how they mediated commemorative practices. For this reason, I first focus on the existing terminology for individual stelae and stela groups.

² For example, see M. Marée, A sculpture workshop at Abydos from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth dynasty, in: M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (thirteenth–seventeenth dynasties): current research, future prospects*, OLA 192, Leuven 2010, 241–281; A. Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary: the production of Late Middle Kingdom memorial stelae*, Middle Kingdom Studies 6, London 2017.

There are many terms for stelae in Egyptian, but the frequency of their use varies through time. For example, the word *ḥꜥw* does not appear in the record regularly until the New Kingdom,³ when it became arguably the most popular term for stelae. I will not discuss it in detail because this article focuses on monuments dated to the Middle Kingdom, which is conceived as the classic period for stelae even though they existed since the early dynastic.⁴ Thousands of stelae from the Middle Kingdom are known,⁵ many of which have been retrieved from or attributed to the sacred site of Abydos, where they were ostensibly erected as a way for the owner to eternally participate in processions honouring the god Osiris. The Middle Kingdom is also the time when stelae became increasingly widespread among the Egyptian population, irrespective of social status;⁶ some stelae from this period are purportedly of inferior artistic quality, but it seems as if they were regarded as equally efficient for the purposes of commemorating those presented on them. Stelae were certainly part of the archaeological vocabulary of socialisation at that time, and they often offer glimpses into the identity and individuality of the people represented in them.

Four different terms for stelae are known from the Middle Kingdom, namely *ḥꜥ*, *wꜥ*, *šps*, and *srḥ*. All of these terms are attested on monuments from Abydos, so the salience of this site when it comes to assessing the role of stelae is clear. The meaning and etymology of these words was briefly discussed by Müller,⁷ who determined that although they have all been translated as ‘stela’, they present a few differences in usage. The word *ḥꜥ* came to denote an offering table or altar from the New Kingdom on,⁸ but prior to that it referred to a type stela that was often attached to offering slabs in an erected position. It is also worth noticing that *ḥꜥ* can be used as a verb meaning ‘to provide’,⁹ and thus the word translated as ‘stela’ could be etymologically related to the action of providing offerings, so that the memorial cult of the deceased, to whom offerings should be presented, is central. A reference to an erected position would in later times also be encoded in the word *ḥꜥw*,¹⁰ which derives from the verb *ḥꜥ*, ‘to stand’. The term *wꜥ* is the most inclusive of all of

³ Stela Cairo CG 20458 (ANOC 24.1) was presented in the Cairo Catalogue as the only attestation of *ḥꜥw* for stelae in the Middle Kingdom; see H. O. Lange–H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo II* (No. 20400–20780), CG 52, Berlin 1902, 56–58. However, it should be noted that this object is inscribed in hieratic, and the signs for *ḥꜥ* and *ḥꜥ* are practically identical (see G. Möller *Hieratische Paläographie: die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*, 3 vols, Leipzig 1909, 449–452 for *ḥꜥ* and 380 for *ḥꜥ*). In my opinion, it makes better sense to read the term as *ḥꜥ* than to assume that it is an early and unique pre-New Kingdom attestation of *ḥꜥw*.

⁴ For general introductions to Egyptian stelae see O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Les stèles égyptiennes*, P. Ny Carlsberg 1, Copenhagen 1948; W. C. Hayes, *The scepter of Egypt: a background for the study of the Egyptian antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Part I: From the earliest times to the end of the Middle Kingdom*, Revised edn, New York 1990 [1953]; J. Vandier, *Les stèles*, in: J. Vandier, *Manuel d’archéologie égyptienne II: les grandes époques; l’architecture funéraire*, Paris 1954, 387–534; L. Limme, *Stèles égyptiennes*, Brussels 1979; K. Martin, in: *LÄ VI*, 1–6, s.v. *Stele*; R. Hözl, in: *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* 3, 319–324, s.v. *Stelae*.

⁵ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, ix, counts 2806 private memorial monuments—out of which 1888 are stelae—for the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period alone.

⁶ K. Yamamoto, *The art of the stela: an appeal to the living*, in: A. Oppenheim et al. (eds), *Ancient Egypt transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, New Haven 2015, 33.

⁷ H. W. Müller, *Die Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches, ihre Genesis, ihre Darstellungen und ihre Komposition*, in: *MDAIK* 4, 1933, 170–172.

⁸ *Wb* 1, 177.7–9.

⁹ *Wb* 1, 177.2–3.

¹⁰ *Wb* 1, 221.11–13.

them,¹¹ as it includes memorial, funerary, and boundary stelae, as well as rock inscriptions. The term itself describes the function of the monument, in that it commands (from the verb *wḏ*, ‘to command’) through its inscriptions and its mere presence. Another term that clarifies the function of this type of monument is *srḥ*,¹² which is etymologically the causative of *rḥ*, ‘to know’, implying that the contents of a stela—and perhaps the existence of the stela itself—were to be made known. Finally, Müller disputes that *šps* should be categorised as a stela due to its determinatives,¹³ which, according to him, probably indicate a chapel instead.¹⁴ I return to this point below, when I discuss the archaeological contexts of stelae in Abydos.

Tables 1 to 4 at the end of this article compile all of the occurrences of each term known to me from Middle Kingdom sources.¹⁵ These attestations have been extracted from collections of examples in dictionaries and glossaries such as the *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*,¹⁶ Hannig’s dictionaries,¹⁷ and the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*.¹⁸ The initial list was then complemented with additional attestations from specialist publications, such as Grallert’s collection of building inscriptions,¹⁹ Shubert’s analysis of appeals to the living,²⁰ Ilin-Tomich’s enhancement to Shubert’s corpus,²¹ and my previous research on Middle Kingdom stelae.²² Although it is difficult to be comprehensive with such common terms, the list provides a good indication of their distribution and usage in the primary sources.

The tables feature a variety of sources and textual genres, ranging from literary to funerary texts, but the majority of the attestations derive from monumental inscriptions that either come from Abydos or have been attributed to that site on the basis of internal evidence—for example, through explicit mentions of the site or deities associated with it. The dark-shaded rows in the tables mark those monuments that can be attributed to an ANOC chapel, as this may be helpful when it comes to reconstructing possible clusters and determining whether a particular term for stela is linked to so-called memorial chapels.

The tables indicate the general types of inscription that include terms for stelae. This may be quite informative because one needs to be careful to acknowledge whether the presence of a word is framed within a stock phrase, such as the so-called appeal to the

¹¹ Wb 1, 398.15–399.4.

¹² Wb 4, 200.15.

¹³ Wb 4, 451.7.

¹⁴ Müller, *Die Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, 171, n. 1.

¹⁵ The use of these terms during the First Intermediate Period presents a similar distribution, with the notable difference that *ʿb3* is the most widespread of the four.

¹⁶ A. Erman–H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 7 vols, Leipzig 1926.

¹⁷ R. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, *Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt* 98, Mainz 2003; R. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II: Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit*, *Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt* 112, 2 vols, Mainz 2006.

¹⁸ <http://aaew2.bbaw.de/tla/index.html>

¹⁹ S. Grallert, *Bauen—Stiften—Weißen: ägyptische Bau- und Restaurierunginschriften von den Anfängen bis zur 30. Dynastie*, *ADAIK* 18, 2 vols, Berlin 2001.



²⁰ S. B. Shubert, *Those who (still) live on earth: a study of the ancient Egyptian appeal to the living texts*, PhD Diss. [unpublished], University of Toronto 2007.

²¹ A. Ilin-Tomich, *King Seankhibra and the Middle Kingdom appeal to the living*, in: G. Miniaci–W. Grajetzki (eds), *The world of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1550 BC): contributions on archaeology, art, religion, and written sources*, *Middle Kingdom Studies* 1, London 2015, 153–156, table 1.

²² L. Olabarria, *Formulating relations: an approach to the *smṯt*-formula*, in: *ZÄS* 145/1, 2018, 57–70.

living, as in these cases the term may have been chosen for no other reason than convention. A comparable phrase is the recurrent *mḥt*-formula, which is a type of building inscription that provides information about the social and architectural context of memorial monuments. In particular, these inscriptions contain references to the locations of monuments within Abydos, as well as their purposes and social implications. Although this phraseology may seem irrelevant and inconspicuous, it can help populate the landscapes where memorial monuments were erected.

Another way to approach the emic perception of stelae is through the orthography of the terms themselves. The ancient Egyptian writing system had a fundamental visual component that benefits research into ancient taxonomies. Determinatives in particular classify words according to their semantic sphere,²³ so they can potentially communicate something about the materiality and conceptual understanding of an object, and indeed determinatives sometimes depict the object they are attached to in a more or less accurate fashion. While the link between a determinative and the word it accompanies can be purely conceptual (e.g. a papyrus roll to indicate abstract concepts, such as *nfrw*, ‘beauty’), that relationship can sometimes be more concrete and descriptive. A pertinent example is the chisel that serves as a determinative for the term *mnḥ*, ‘to carve’. The importance that can be attached to determinatives when reconstructing the materiality of objects or buildings is limited, because they generally denote broad lexical classes rather than the accurate material characteristics of an object. Nevertheless, determinatives are an interesting avenue of research that could potentially be applied to stelae.

Middle Kingdom private stelae can be broadly divided into two types based on their external shape, namely round-topped and rectangular. Determinatives are sometimes reminiscent of those shapes, such as  (O26, round-topped stela),²⁴ although in other cases they may indicate the material that stelae are made of, like  (O39, stone). In his suggested classification of stelae, Müller recognised a typological difference based on the degree of architectural integration apparent in these monuments.²⁵ He identified stelae that were ‘self-sufficient’, ‘architectural’ stelae that were dependent on surrounding architecture (e.g. false-doors), and finally ‘neutral’ stelae, which are those that were self-sufficient while also being integrated into architecture, such as rectangular stelae inserted on the walls of tombs. This division disregards the fact that no stela is truly self-sufficient, since they are all embedded in a landscape that often includes other architectural elements and, even if the relationship is not entirely self-evident, the references to architectural forms are an intrinsic part of stelae. For example, round-topped stelae are reminiscent of the curved roof of a vaulted chapel, rectangular stelae evoke the walls of memorial chapels or tombs, and false-door stelae are of course miniature versions of false doors.²⁶ The association of stelae and architecture is thus central to the role stelae played, and should not be overlooked when exploring the role of determinatives.

Lexicographic and orthographic research may contribute to assessing potential trends in the use of terms for stelae. For example, it may be worth exploring whether the choice of

²³ A. Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian: a linguistic introduction*, Cambridge 1995, 13.


²⁴ All the references to determinatives in this article use the numbering system from Gardiner’s sign list.


²⁵ Müller, *Die Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, 166–170.

²⁶ Yamamoto, *The art of the stela*, 33.

determinative was reliant on the specific term employed in an inscription or on the external shape of the object. In this manner, the relationships between term, determinative, and the physical appearance of a stela can be examined and potentially challenged.

First, it is worth noting that none of the terms discussed here seem to have fixed determinatives associated with them. For example, the term *wḏ* may be accompanied by an O26 round-topped stela sign (e.g. Moscow Pushkin I.1.b.32) or by an O39 flat stone (e.g. British Museum EA 204). This indicates that the choice of determinative was not dependent on the term itself, but on other factors. Furthermore, the determinative does not necessarily reflect the external shape of the stela. While the O26 determinative appears to mainly have been used on round-topped stelae, there are cases where it was not. For example, Bologna KS 1903 is referred to as *wḏ* with an O26 round-topped stela determinative, even though it is a rectangular stela with cavetto cornice.

The term chosen does not seem to be linked to the physical shape of the stela it denotes either; two stelae that are completely different in shape could receive exactly the same term. For example, British Museum EA 202 (ANOC 1.6) is a round-topped stela (see Fig. 5), and Cairo CG 20016 (ANOC 11.1) is a rectangular slab, but both contain the term *ʿb3* in the inscriptions they bear, with an O39 flat stone determinative and no determinative respectively. Furthermore, two apparently similar stelae may contain different terms. This is the case for Leiden AP 36 (ANOC ix.2), which is referred to as *wḏ* with an O39 stone determinative, and BM EA 101, captioned as *ʿb3* with an O21 shrine determinative () , despite the fact that they are both rectangular stelae with cavetto cornice.

Finally, there are also cases in which the same inscription on a stela contains two different terms, and sometimes even with more than one determinative. For example, round-topped stela Cairo CG 20093 (ANOC 49.1) features *šps* and *ʿb3*, the former being accompanied by the O20 shrine () and the latter simply with a stroke as determinatives (see Fig. 1). Both of those terms for stelae are qualified by the demonstrative *pn*, which indicates that they were designating the specific object on which they are carved. While *šps* is inserted at the beginning of a traditional appeal to the living, *ʿb3* appears in the apodosis of that formula in association with the verb *šd*, ‘to read aloud’.²⁷

²⁷ The text reads *mi šd=tn ʿb3-pn*, ‘cause that you may read this stela aloud’, thus emphasising the importance of reciting the inscriptions carved on the stela.



Fig. 1. Stela Cairo CG 20093²⁸

The other instance of a stela containing two terms is Copenhagen AEIN 1539. This is a double-sided stela, and the terms *wḏ* and *ʿb3* are both included on one of its sides, once more within the widespread appeal to the living. Their determinatives are also mixed, since *wḏ* does not have one and *ʿb3* has an unusual determinative in the form of an O41 stairway (𓏲), which may be linked to the archaeological context of the site of Abydos (see the discussion on the ‘terrace of the great god’ below). In Copenhagen AEIN 1539 the verb *šd* is associated with *wḏ*, while the term *ʿb3* appears at the beginning of an appeal to the living that alludes to ‘those who will pass by this *ʿb3* of the necropolis’. Two different terms for stelae, namely *ʿb3* and *wḏ*, are hence presented as bearers of inscriptions that should be read aloud (see appeal to the living B and C on Tables 1 to 4). This indicates that the function or purpose of these monuments was not unique to a specific term; as this example shows, more than one type of stela could be ‘read aloud’, so the nature of the interaction that was expected of visitors did not determine which term would feature on an object.

It is therefore clear that neither the term nor the determinative were related to the shape of the stela on which they are inscribed. The terms could have been used interchangeably, perhaps to avoid repetition of a word within a formula. However, other options should be considered, especially given that these stelae were integrated in a sacred landscape that was populated by people as well as by other monuments.

²⁸ After H. O. Lange–H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo IV* (No. 20001–20780), CG 54, Berlin 1902, pl. ix.

3. *Stelae in context: chapels and the ritual landscape of Abydos*

In the previous section I analysed stelae almost in isolation, as artefacts detached from their archaeological contexts. Yet, as I pointed out above, this is an artificial approach because stelae should be understood as part of the larger setting in which they were embedded. Most of the stelae from the Middle Kingdom that I discuss in this article either come from Abydos or have been attributed to that site, and the particularities of Abydos thus need to be taken into account and integrated in this analysis.

The ancient landscape of Abydos is extremely difficult to reconstruct. On the one hand, its excavation history features various archaeologists with different sets of priorities and methodologies,²⁹ while looting and pillaging has been rampant in Abydos since ancient times. Stelae were precious objects for many European and American museum collections in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and they were at times removed from the site with limited, if any, documentation. For example, the dealers Giovanni d'Athanasia and Giovanni Anastasi contributed to the dispersal of Abydene pieces whose provenance was never accurately recorded.³⁰

On the other hand, the horizontal stratigraphy of the site is not clear due to intensive reuse and reconfiguration of the space throughout history.³¹ Ilin-Tomich provides a table in which all excavated private objects from Abydos have been compiled in order to assess the level of concentration of artefacts from different periods in some areas.³² As previously noted by Richards,³³ a general trend can be observed that shows expansion from the northeast to the southeast, and from the Temple of Osiris to the local southwest,³⁴ but most objects from the site were found in either disturbed or undocumented contexts, so it is difficult to provide an accurate chronology for when the various areas of the cemetery were used.

Abydos was a cemetery for the early kings of Egypt and continued to be an elite necropolis in subsequent centuries.³⁵ In the Middle Kingdom the tomb of the 1st dynasty

²⁹ For a summary of excavation work at Abydos prior to 1967, see J. E. Richards, *Conceptual landscapes in the Egyptian Nile Valley*, in: W. Ashmore–A. B. Knapp (eds), *Archaeologies of landscape: contemporary perspectives*, Oxford 1999, 83–100; J. E. Richards, *Society and death in ancient Egypt: mortuary landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, Cambridge 2005, 125–156. For an outline of the Pennsylvania-Yale expedition and more recent archaeological work, see K. Yamamoto, *A Middle Kingdom pottery assemblage from North Abydos*, PhD Diss. [unpublished], University of Toronto 2009, 10–21.

³⁰ W. K. Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos: the offering chapels of dynasties 12 and 13*, PPYE 5, New Haven–Philadelphia, 1974, 5–6.

³¹ For a recent outline of the diachronic uses of space at Abydos, see Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 136–140, with further references.

³² Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 137, table 47.

³³ Richards, *Society and death*, 160–161.

³⁴ The doctoral thesis by Kei Yamamoto (*A Middle Kingdom pottery assemblage from North Abydos*) is instrumental in this respect, as he proposes a reconstruction of the Abydene landscape based on the destruction and rebuilding of memorial chapels in North Abydos. Material from the time of Amenemhet I to Senusret I was assembled against the enclosure of the Temple of Osiris, and Yamamoto suggested, on the basis of ceramic and stratigraphic evidence, that it could have been deposited there after the structures to which it belonged were demolished around the time of Senusret I, perhaps to create a plastered pavement behind the temple. Yamamoto thus shows that Abydos was a ritual landscape subject to continuous re-elaboration.

³⁵ D. O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's first pharaohs and the cult of Osiris*, London 2009, 136–181.

king Djer was reinterpreted as the tomb of the god Osiris himself,³⁶ either sparking celebrations in honour of the god or giving a locally bounded meaning to pre-existing rituals. Be that as it may, the wadi leading from the Temple of Osiris to the supposed tomb of the god became a stage for ritualised performance, as a procession representing the triumph of Osiris over his enemies took place along it. The sides of the wadi soon began to be filled with stelae of people who wanted to be close to those celebrations and participate in them for eternity. Many of these stelae seem to have been set up in clusters known to researchers as ‘memorial chapels’, which probably constituted meaningful units for Egyptians, as some inscriptions demonstrate (see below).

The area that Mariette labelled as the North Cemetery is particularly noteworthy, as its setting close to the Temple of Osiris made it a prime location for the enjoyment of these festivities. Indeed, the area that lies between the enclosure of the Temple of Osiris and the wadi has been dubbed the ‘votive zone’,³⁷ because it was a focus of ritual activity in the Middle Kingdom. Mudbrick buildings in this area have been understood as chapels, namely as the architectural context for clusters of stelae, which were probably representative of social groups of some nature. Such chapels are not unique to Abydos. Archaeological works in other sites such as Saqqara, Elephantine, and Thebes have demonstrated that comparable structures were built throughout Egypt,³⁸ although local engagement with the festivities in honour of Osiris distinguishes the site of Abydos.

The area directly adjacent to the enclosure of the Temple of Osiris was excavated in a joint expedition by the University of Pennsylvania and Yale from 1967 to 1979. Archaeological work uncovered some mudbrick buildings under the temple known as the Portal of Ramesses II.³⁹ Petrie had assumed that this building was a gateway leading from the enclosure of Osiris to the cemetery that lies to the southwest.⁴⁰ However, later research demonstrated that it was not a gateway but a New Kingdom temple built upon the foundations of mudbrick structures that could have been used as memorial chapels.⁴¹ Even though this constitutes a destructive interaction with earlier monuments, the floor levels of the temple effectively protected some of this mudbrick architecture for posterity.

³⁶ See U. Effland, *Das Gottesgrab. Der Gott Osiris in Umm el-Qaab/Abydos*, in: Sokar 16, 2008, 6–17; M. Smith, *Following Osiris: perspectives on the Osirian afterlife from four millennia*, Oxford 2017, 466–467.

³⁷ It is also known as the ‘cultic zone’ and ‘transitional zone’ in the literature.

³⁸ For Saqqara, see A. Abdalla, *The cenotaph of the Sekwaskhet family from Saqqara*, in: JEA 78, 1992, 93–111. For Elephantine, see L. Habachi, *Elephantine IV: the sanctuary of Heqaib*, AV 33, Mainz 1985. In Thebes, a mudbrick chapel located between the entrances of two 12th dynasty rock-cut tombs was excavated by Proyecto Djehuty in 2017. This chapel contained three Second Intermediate Period stelae and a faience necklace in situ (http://www.excavacionegipto.com/el_proyecto/campaigns.php?year=2017&option=summary).

³⁹ This area may as well be representative of the North Cemetery as a whole. In 2011 Pouls Wegner discovered a comparable offering chapel about 100 metres away from the area excavated by the Pennsylvania-Yale expedition; see A.-M. Pouls Wegner, *New fieldwork at Abydos: the Toronto votive zone project*, in: NEA 75/3, 2012, 180–181.

⁴⁰ W. M. F. Petrie, *Abydos. Part II*, 1903, MEES 24, London 1903, 7, 18.

⁴¹ D. P. Silverman, *The so-called Portal Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos*, in: S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985. Band 2: Archäologie, Feldforschung, Prähistorie*, Hamburg 1989, 269–277; W. K. Simpson, *Inscribed material from the Pennsylvania-Yale excavations at Abydos*, PPYE 6, New Haven–Philadelphia 1995; M.-A. Pouls Wegner, *The construction accounts from the ‘Portal Temple’ of Ramesses II in north Abydos*, in: Z. Hawass–J. Houser Wegner (eds), *Millions of jubilees: studies in honor of David P. Silverman*, SASAE 39/II, Cairo 2010, 105–122.

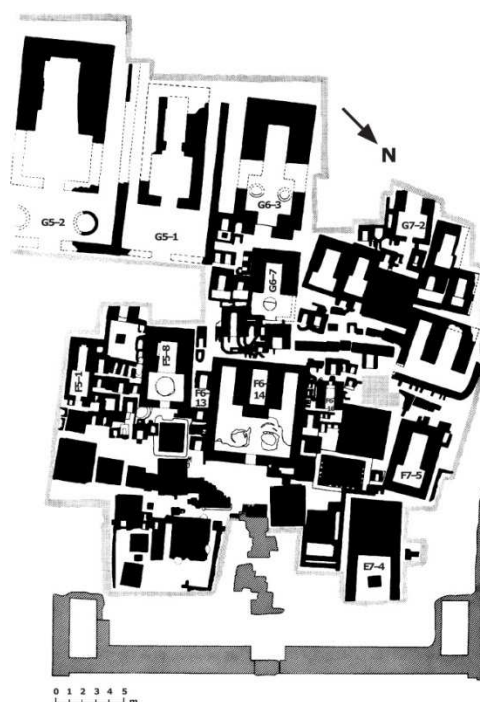


Fig. 2. Plan of mudbrick chapel area excavated by the Pennsylvania-Yale expedition at Abydos⁴²

The Pennsylvania-Yale expedition uncovered dozens of memorial chapels within a densely populated space, with structures being stacked as closely as possible to one another (see Fig. 2). This may embody a drive for presence in a site that was saturated with cultic importance.⁴³ Significantly, the memorial chapel area is located directly beside the entrance of the Temple of Osiris, and therefore in a privileged location for those wishing to participate in the festivals. In addition, the chapels tend to be oriented toward the northeast, that is, with their entrances facing the temple. All of them were made of mudbrick, which is in itself a significant characteristic because inscriptions in Middle Kingdom stelae mention that *m^ch^ct*-chapels would be made of bricks (see Fig. 3).⁴⁴

⁴² After Simpson, *Inscribed material*, 32, fig. 54.

⁴³ On presence, see my forthcoming article on social memory: L. Olabarria, 'And there was no one who would remember it': technologies of remembrance and the materialisation of social memory in Middle Kingdom Egypt, in preparation.

⁴⁴ The inscription on Cairo CG 20733 reads: *ir.n(=i) grt t3 m^ch^ct m 3bdw m dbt sht.n=i*, '(I) built this *m^ch^ct* in Abydos of bricks that I moulded myself'.



Fig. 3. Remains of mudbrick chapels at Abydos⁴⁵

These memorial chapels can be classified into two distinct typologies.⁴⁶ The first type encompasses solid masses of brickwork that were probably lined with stelae.⁴⁷ The second comprises single-chambered chapels, sometimes featuring a courtyard with a smaller mudbrick structure meant to house at least one stela. Both of these types were stripped of stone artefacts (i.e. stela, statues, and offering tables) in the recent and ancient past, including during the construction of the Portal temple, so only a few stelae have been found in situ in association with their chapels, such as the one on the forecourt of chapel E-7.⁴⁸

Even if they were not found in the votive zone, stelae often have inscriptions that situate them explicitly in that geographical context. In particular, there are references to places like the ‘terrace of the great god’ (*rwd n ntr ʿ3*), next to where stelae and chapels would have been erected. The exact location of this area has been disputed. Simpson concluded that the terrace of the great god was the area by the northern end of the western enclosure wall of the Temple of Osiris,⁴⁹ and this corresponds roughly with the area excavated by the Pennsylvania-Yale expedition. Other place names recorded on stelae, such as the ‘district of great renown’ (*wʿrt ʿ3t hmhmt*), the ‘district of the lady of offerings’ (*wʿrt nbt ḥtp*) and further variations (e.g. *wʿrt nbt dḥw*, ‘district of the lady of provisions’, and *wʿrt nbt ʿnh*, ‘district of the lady of life’), were all probably designations for that same area,

⁴⁵ After D. O’Connor, The ‘cenotaphs’ of the Middle Kingdom at Abydos, in: P. Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar II*, Cairo 1985, pl. i [a].

⁴⁶ For a more detailed description of the different types of chapels, see Yamamoto, A Middle Kingdom pottery assemblage from North Abydos, esp. 35–45. He distinguishes between six morphological types based on the existence of internal chambers, courtyards, niches for stelae, and burial shafts. However, I retain a division of chapels into two broad groups for the purposes of this article.

⁴⁷ Whelan suggests that the emergence of these solid and more compact chapels could have been a response to space restrictions, which may have had an impact on the practicalities of the cult; see P. Whelan, On the context and conception of two ‘trademark’ styles from late Middle Kingdom Abydos, in: G. Miniaci–W. Grajetzki (eds), *The world of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1550 BC): contributions on archaeology, art, religion, and written sources*, Middle Kingdom Studies 2, London 2016, 310–315.

⁴⁸ Simpson, *Inscribed material*, pl. 6b.

⁴⁹ Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*, 10–14.

especially since they are mentioned in apposition to the terrace of the great god in some texts. Simpson also pointed out that these names might not have all been in use at the same time, so the different terms may indicate some chronological differences,⁵⁰ and indeed they were no longer attested by the early 18th dynasty.⁵¹ Lichtheim disagreed, noting that prepositions were used quite consistently, that *hr* never appeared before the term *rwd* in this context, and therefore that this region could not have been the hill next to the processional way.⁵² Instead, she suggested that the *rwd n ntr* ⲉ3 could refer to the Temple of Osiris itself, or a part of it. A more encompassing suggestion is that by Kemp, who argues that the terrace may be the whole area occupied by both the temple and the North Cemetery.⁵³ The equivalence between the terrace of the great god and the votive zone is probably the most plausible option according to inscriptional evidence, as has been recognised in more recent works on the landscape of Abydos, such as those by Yamamoto and Kopleff.⁵⁴

Since archaeological evidence is limited, it is necessary to resort to internal evidence to attempt a reconstruction of these assemblages. Simpson identified a number of ANOC groups on the basis of the people mentioned and/or depicted on stelae,⁵⁵ and suggested that each group could have had an associated chapel. Several modifications, including the addition of new groups, have been made to the original list since its inception in 1974, thanks to an improved understanding of the prosopography of the Middle Kingdom,⁵⁶ and the ascription of stelae to specific workshops.⁵⁷ The work of El-Rabi'i deserves special mention in this context,⁵⁸ as he supplemented the original list with the significant addition of 29 extra groups. In order to differentiate his ANOC groups from Simpson's, El-Rabi'i adopted a system of Roman numerals, while Simpson's chapels are referred to by Arabic numerals.

Just like stelae, chapels also featured prominently in the formulaic discourse of the Middle Kingdom. The term *mḥꜣt* has traditionally been translated as 'memorial chapel' or 'offering chapel'.⁵⁹ Etymologically *mḥꜣt* could derive from the verb *ḥꜣ*, 'to stand', with an

⁵⁰ Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, 10, 13.

⁵¹ M.-A. Pouls Wegner, The cult of Osiris at Abydos: an archaeological investigation of the development of an ancient Egyptian sacred center during the eighteenth dynasty, PhD Diss. [unpublished], University of Pennsylvania 2002, esp. 135–138.

⁵² M. Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian autobiographies chiefly of the Middle Kingdom: a study and an anthology, OBO 84, Freiburg–Göttingen 1988, 131.

⁵³ B. Kemp, in: LÄ I, 32, s.v. Abydos.

⁵⁴ Yamamoto, A Middle Kingdom pottery assemblage from North Abydos, 1–2; H. Kopleff, A community in stone: the 'cenotaph' stelae of Abydos, PhD Diss. [unpublished], Institute of Fine Arts, New York University 2017, 33–34.

⁵⁵ Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos.

⁵⁶ E.g. D. Franke, Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.–16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.): Dossiers 1–796, ÄA 41, Wiesbaden 1984; W. Grajetzki, Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches: Prosopographie, Titel und Titelseiten, Berlin 2000; D. Stefanović, The non-royal regular feminine titles of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period: dossiers, GHP Egyptology 11, London 2009; W. Grajetzki–D. Stefanović, Dossiers of ancient Egyptians: the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, addition to Franke's 'Personendaten', GHP Egyptology 19, London 2012.

⁵⁷ E.g. R. E. Freed, Stela workshops of early dynasty 12, in: P. Der Manuelian (ed.), Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson I, Boston 1996, 297–336; Marée, A sculpture workshop at Abydos; Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary.

⁵⁸ A.-M. El-Rabi'i, Familles abydéniennes du Moyen Empire, in: CdE 52, 1977, 13–21.

⁵⁹ O'Connor, The 'cenotaphs' of the Middle Kingdom at Abydos, 166.




added prefix *m-* to convey the idea of a place. In this sense, it could be rendered as ‘place of standing’ in reference to the way that stelae would have been set up in a raised position. However, I suggest an alternative meaning: that this ‘place of standing’ could actually describe the engagement of Egyptian actors with the stelae, and thus be understood as a place where people would gather, standing next to each other and to the monuments. This interpretation would add a further dimension to the notion of chapels as stages for a social enactment of commemoration.

I have compiled in Table 5 at the end of this article a total of 67 instances from the Middle Kingdom where the term appears, comprising 55 stelae and two tomb inscriptions. Almost all of the mentions to *mḥt* on stelae are on monuments whose provenance is thought to be Abydos, with only three exceptions;⁶⁰ for this reason, the site itself should be regarded as an essential component of any attempt to understand the nature of *mḥt* chapels.

In the previous section of this article, I showed that the selection of determinatives for stelae was not standardised in any way, but in the case of *mḥt* their uniformity is certainly noteworthy (see Fig. 4).

Determinative	Number of attestations
House determinative (O1)	49 (+ 2 possible)
Shrine (O18, O20)	6
Strokes	2
Broken	1
No determinative	7
	67

Fig. 4. Determinatives of the term *mḥt*

Of the 67 attestations in Table 5, 49 (perhaps 51, given two doubtful instances) have the house determinative , which indicates that a *mḥt* was conceived of as a place. Other examples exhibit variations of the shrine determinative ( or ) which also lends the term a spatial dimension, while seven simply lacked a determinative. Some inscriptions actually confirm that a *mḥt* was a space into which one could physically enter: *in rmt nbt nt smyt=i ḥk=sn r t3 mḥt nn ḥk d3-ib nb r=s*, ‘all the people of my *smyt* are the ones who will enter this *mḥt*, no impostor will enter it’ (Boston MFA 2015.2159).⁶¹ The nature of that space is something that deserves further exploration.

⁶⁰ One of these exceptions is British Museum EA 893, which includes a hymn to Osiris, so the connection with the main god of Abydos remains.

⁶¹ For *ḥk* followed by the preposition *r* expressing entry into a physically delimited space, see C. Gracia Zamacona, *ḥk*, ‘enter’, but how, and where? Data from the Coffin Texts, in: *Antiguo Oriente* 13, 2015, esp. 50–52. For a discussion of the term *smyt*, see Olabarria in: *ZÄS* 145/1.

Although generally translated as ‘chapel’, other renderings for *mḥt* are also documented. Some texts indicate that the word could be understood as a tomb. A well-known example is the stela of Ikhnofret (Berlin ÄM 1204 [ANOC 1.1]), where *mḥt* refers to what Egyptians regarded as the tomb of Osiris: *iw dsr.n=i w3wt ntr r mḥt=f hntyt pkr*, ‘I cleared the roads of the god to his *mḥt* south of Poqer’. The text describes Ikhnofret’s participation in various ritual actions during festivals in honour of Osiris at Abydos, and this fragment relates to how the wadi leading to the area where the god’s alleged tomb was located was cleared and made ready for the procession. The term *mḥt* is also used for a limestone chapel built by Nebhepetre in honour of the gods Osiris and Wepwawet, and for the perpetuation of his name at Abydos.⁶² The inscribed blocks of this chapel also mention a canal, implying that the festivities of Osiris were not restricted to the wadi, but that other areas at the site would also have been included,⁶³ so it is possible to interpret that the term *mḥt* denoted a ceremonial building close to a processional route in this context.⁶⁴

This apparent variability in the usage of the term may seem perplexing to the contemporary researcher, as *mḥt* appears to refer simultaneously to a monument that is not associated with a burial (i.e. a chapel) and to one that is (i.e. a tomb). This conundrum actually reinforces the problem of classification that I have pointed out, and the extent to which preconceptions can shape our understanding of the material culture of Egypt. If the aim is to establish a clear-cut difference between a place for burial and one that is not intended for interment, then *mḥt* simply shows that we are asking the wrong question, as there does not seem to have been such a distinction from an emic perspective. As with the case of individual stelae, perhaps we should look beyond the formal, physical attributes of the *mḥt* and focus on its perceived function. On the basis of the contexts into which these artefacts were embedded, and the information contained within their inscriptions, they may have been primarily conceived as objects that elicited commemoration.

Looking at Table 5, it is striking how consistently the term *mḥt* is used mainly in two types of formula—appeals to the living and building inscriptions—in 53 of the 65 Middle Kingdom stela inscriptions listed.⁶⁵

First, the term *mḥt* is often presented as a landmark that visitors pass in the framework of appeals to the living. Variants of this formula can be read in 27 instances in the corpus compiled here. Stela Geneva D50 (ANOC 1.9) is a good example of the most common variation of this formula: *i ḥnw tpw t3 ḥmw-ntw hriw-ḥbt wḥbw sšw sw3.ty=sn ḥr mḥt-tn*, ‘o living ones upon earth, god’s servants, lector-priests, wab-priests and scribes who shall pass by this *mḥt*’. The appeal to the living is often inclusive, addressing all of the literate elites who will pass by the monument in order to encourage them to recite an offering formula, or

⁶² J. W. Wegner, A new temple: the *mahat* of Nebhepetre at Abydos, in: *Egyptian Archaeology* 46, 2015, 5–6.

⁶³ On the potential axes of processional routes at Abydos, see U. Effland–J. Budka–A. Effland, Studien zum Osiriskult in Umm el-Qaab/Abydos. Ein Vorbericht, in: *MDAIK* 66, 2010, esp. 78–85.

⁶⁴ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, x.

⁶⁵ The total number of attestations of *mḥt* in Table 5 is 67 in 57 objects, but two of them are tomb inscriptions rather than stelae. Some artefacts have more than one inscription, and some inscriptions feature a term more than once; for this reason it is important to differentiate between the number of objects and the number of attestations.

to pronounce the name of the person to whom the stela is dedicated, thus inspiring them to play a role in remembrance. As seen from the list of model formulae accompanying this article, there exist variations of the appeal to the living, which have been attributed either to the influence of workshops or to regional trends.⁶⁶ Some of these variations highlight the benefits that would befall visitors engaging with the monument, including such tempting rewards as the favour of the local gods.

Although interactions are clearly sought by means of such appeals, it is remarkable that the verb *šd*, ‘to read aloud’, discussed in relation to stelae above, is never used in reference to a *mḥt*. I interpret this to mean that the *mḥt* was not seen as an individual inscription-bearing monument; instead, it was conceptualised as a space that was created by, and given meaning through, stelae, among other monuments. There are inscriptions that demonstrate that individual stelae were seen as constituent parts of a *mḥt*. For example, a line on stela British Museum EA 202 (ANOC 1.6, see Fig. 5) reads: *in it(=i) iy-hr-nfrt wd irt n(=i) ḥb3-pn (m) mḥt=f nt m3ḥ-hrw*, ‘it was (my) father Ikhnofret who commanded that this stela is set up for (me) in his chapel of vindication’. This attestation is remarkable, because it means that someone could set up a stela in someone else’s *mḥt*, thus lending credence to the idea that chapels at Abydos could embody social groups. It is noteworthy that 19 out of 55 stelae bearing the term *mḥt* can be associated with specific ANOC groups, as shown by the dark grey shading in Table 5. Some of the formulae place the *mḥt* in or by a temple, probably that of Osiris,⁶⁷ which fits with the description of the archaeology of the site suggested above, and provides a further argument in favour of anchoring monuments to the landscape in the terrace of the great god. This corresponds with the location the mudbrick chapels excavated by O’Connor and Yamamoto, which may serve as further evidence that these chapels were the materialisation of ANOC groups, as suggested by Simpson.

⁶⁶ Ilin-Tomich, King Seankhibra, 147–149.

⁶⁷ After a string of vocatives, stela Cairo CG 20539 reads: *hpr.ty=fy m hwt-ntr-tn sw3.ty=sn hr mḥt-tn šd.ty=sn wd-pn*, ‘who shall happen to be in this temple, who shall pass by this *mḥt* and who shall read this stela aloud’.



Fig. 5. Stela British Museum EA 202⁶⁸

Second, the term *mḥt* occurs 26 times in building inscriptions that present the construction of a chapel as an act worth remembering. Stela British Museum EA 575 (ANOC 43.2) is a good example of the usual formulation of this phrase: *ir.n=i grt mḥt r rwd n ntr ʿ3*, ‘I built a *mḥt* by the terrace of the great god’. Some variants include allusions to the ‘district of the lady of offerings in Abydos’ (British Museum EA 573), the ‘birthplace of Abydos’ and the ‘district of great renown’ (Leiden AP 72–73; 74–76), or the ‘district of the lady of life’ (Manchester 3306 [ANOC 69.1]), thus locating the chapels within the wider geography of Abydos. While *mḥt* were presented as socio-ritual spaces with which visitors should interact in appeals to the living, building inscriptions situate chapels in the landscape where they have been erected.

When a *mḥt* is related to geographical areas, it is recognised as a defining landmark in Abydos. Thus, those who commissioned *mḥt* were anchoring their remembrance, which was prompted and sustained by these chapels, to the landscape. I have not encountered any reference to stelae alone as orientation markers to regions of the sacred setting of Abydos; this only occurs when chapels are featured in the inscription. Thus, it is chapels, and not isolated stelae, that must have acted as landmarks, which in turn implies that they might have been conceived by Egyptians as spatial units.

These two types of formulae cover the majority of inscriptions, but the remainder share a sense of purpose with either the former or the latter. For example, threats or requests to passers-by not to damage a monument can be associated with visitor interaction in appeals to the living. Some narrative passages highlight the actual construction of the chapel as a magnificent achievement, even if the phrasing differs from typically formulaic inscriptions. In this context there is a further phrase that deserves attention, namely a dedication formula

⁶⁸ ©Trustees of the British Museum.

requesting that the gods grant a perfect *mḥt* to the person to whom a stela is dedicated.⁶⁹ Ilin-Tomich notes that this formula is unattested beyond his Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 2,⁷⁰ but it is consistent with the sort of praise that the construction and establishment of a *mḥt* would deserve. As such, the use of the term seems quite cohesive, because it emphasises interactions with an audience as well the creation of the chapel as a space in Abydos.

As a summary, one of the ultimate purposes of both a tomb and a chapel would have been to commemorate an individual or a group, and perhaps this was the underlying concept behind a *mḥt*.⁷¹ The consistent preference for the house determinative suggests that it was meant to create a space, which need not have been delimited physically, but whose purpose would have involved encouraging and activating remembrance. Etymologically *mḥt* means ‘place of standing’, and this adds a further dimension to the notion of commemoration, as it could refer to an assembly of people. This interpretation makes sense in the context of Abydos, from where most attestations of the term *mḥt* derive, since the festivals of Osiris attracted many visitors. Thus, whether someone was buried in association with this type of monument was perhaps less important than the memorialising function it was meant to fulfil. This idea highlights a performative approach to stelae and chapels.

4. *What does a stela do? A performative approach to monuments*

In the previous sections I have argued against a widespread tendency to provide definitions for stelae and chapels that rely exclusively on their external features. For example, binary approaches such as whether or not a chapel was associated with a shaft, or whether a stela is round-topped or rectangular, are probably inconsequential. Identifications based on physical, observable traits may fit into our own classifications, but they may not have been significant from an emic perspective in the ways that Egyptians conceptualised stelae and chapels.

Instead, I have proposed that a definition of these monuments should rely primarily on their purported function, an approach that is based on the idea of performativity. According to this approach, social practices and identities are continuously negotiated in diverse contexts over time,⁷² so that the significance of actions, including encounters with the material world, cannot be defined in the abstract. The focus is thus on the effect that people or objects have on other actors in specific moments, highlighting the enacted nature of social practice and the fluidity of analytical categories.⁷³ Accordingly, it may perhaps be better to ask not what stelae are, but rather what stelae do. The inscriptions, iconographic representations, and archaeological particularities of the ritual landscape from Abydos show

⁶⁹ *di=sn mḥt nfrt*, ‘that they [the gods] may give a perfect chapel’, in Cairo CG 20748 (ANOC 34.2).

⁷⁰ Ilin-Tomich, King Seankhibra, 149.

⁷¹ This is further discussed in a forthcoming article: Olabarria, ‘And there was no one who would remember it’.

⁷² See E. DeMarrais, Introduction: the archaeology of performance, in: *World Archaeology* 46/2, 2014, esp. 157–158.

⁷³ For a performative approach to some aspects of social practice in Egypt, see L. Olabarria, Kinship and gender in dialogue: approaching relatedness in ancient Egypt, in: S. L. Budin et al. (eds), *Gender and methodology in the Ancient Near East: approaches from Assyriology and beyond*, *Barcino Monographica Orientalia* 10, Barcelona 2018, esp. 292–296.

that these monuments served as stages for the social enactment of commemoration and, as such, they need to be analysed as foci of memory.

The inscriptions discussed above demonstrate that chapels were conceptualised by Egyptians as spatial units, and that such units would comprise stelae, so it is worth further exploring the relationship between stelae and chapels. Since the archaeological context of most of these objects is lost, this analysis needs to be attempted mainly from the inscriptional record.

Chapels were sometimes referred to in conjunction with terms for stelae, which helps identify which types of stelae could be constituent parts of a *mḥt*. Fig. 6 covers the attestations of terms for stelae that are mentioned together with the word *mḥt* in the same inscription out of the total number of occurrences for each term, as outlined in Tables 1 to 5 at the end of this article. Analysis of the terminology shows that there are occurrences of *ḥ3* (1 out of 29), *wḏ* (4 out of 46), and even *srḥ* (1 out of 3) together with *mḥt*; this makes a total of six attestations, four of which can be assigned to a specific ANOC group. The term *šps* is, however, conspicuously absent from this correlation with *mḥt*. This is particularly striking given that *šps* features heavily in stelae associated with ANOC groups.

Term	Attestations with <i>mḥt</i>
<i>ḥ3</i>	1 out of 29
<i>wḏ</i>	4 out of 46
<i>šps</i>	0 out of 20
<i>srḥ</i>	1 out of 3
Total	6

Fig. 6. Attestations of a term for stela together with the term *mḥt*

Fig. 7 shows the number of times that a term is used on a stela that can be identified as belonging to an ANOC group, again out of the total number of attestations of these terms compiled in Tables 1 to 5. These data need to be interpreted with caution, especially because many ANOC groups may not have been identified in the archaeological record and the number of attestations is relatively limited (155 monuments), but Fig. 7 shows a trend for the distribution of these terms within ANOC groups.


Term	Number of ANOC attestations	Percentage
<i>ḥ3</i>	7 out of 29	24%
<i>wḏ</i>	7 out of 46	15%
<i>šps</i>	9 out of 20	45%

<i>srḥ</i>	1 out of 3	33%
<i>mḥꜥt</i>	20 out of 57	35%

Fig. 7. Attestations of a term for stela or chapel within an ANOC group

The tables accompanying this article demonstrate that *wḏ* was the most widespread of the terms for stelae, and the one that most often appears together with the word *mḥꜥt*, but it is the least frequently mentioned on monuments belonging to ANOC groups. The presence of *šps* in this corpus is quite remarkable, and could be due to preservation bias or perhaps to sheer coincidence, but other possibilities should not be discarded.

A quick glance at Table 5 indicates that the term *šps* is always featured in appeals to the living. The other terms show more variation in their usage, as they can be attested—often simultaneously—in building inscriptions, entourage formulae, and even narratives, but *šps* is consistently employed only within appeals to the living of the type I have labelled ‘A’ for the purposes of this article (see model formulae).⁷⁴ Perhaps this had something to do with the perceived function of this type of monument, which would emphasise a relationship with passers-by. Another remarkable characteristic of *šps* is that its span of use is quite limited; it is only inscribed on monuments that have been dated to the later 12th or the 13th dynasties. It was therefore favoured during a relatively short period of time, so the possibility that its use was governed by changes in fashion or innovations in the cult should be considered.

The usual determinative for *šps* is the O20 shrine (). This only occasionally accompanied any of the other terms discussed in this article (three occurrences with *ꜥb* and two with *mḥꜥt*), but most of the instances where *šps* is spelt out exhibit this shrine as a determinative. Lapp argued that *šps* could denote a miniature chapel-stela, based on the shape of the determinative.⁷⁵ An example of such a stela is Cairo CG 20742,⁷⁶ but *šps* does not occur in its inscription and so, once again, the only connection between the term and the stela has been made on the basis of its expected shape.⁷⁷ The stela of Kemes (MMA 2014.283a, b; Fig. 8) is another example of a miniature chapel-stela that does not include the term *šps* in a self-referential manner.⁷⁸ This monument, which is dedicated to an overseer of percussionists, imitates the shape of a *pr-nw* shrine and combines elements

⁷⁴ With only one exception, which substitutes the expression ‘passing by a stela’ with ‘seeing a stela’ in Toulouse 49.274 (ANOC 55.4), but still in the context of an appeal to the living.

⁷⁵ These stelae have also been referred to as ‘stèle-maison’ or ‘Stelenmastabas’. Lapp notes that these denominations are problematic because they disregard the fact that the objects also share many features with coffins; see G. Lapp, *Die Stelenkapelle des kmz aus der 13. Dynastie*, in: MDAIK 50, 1994: esp. 243–248. For a recent discussion on the adequacy of the denomination ‘stèle-maison’, see P. Péro, *Une stèle-maison au nom de Mémy*, in: R. Legros (ed.), *Cinquante ans d’éternité: jubilé de la Mission archéologique française de Saqqâra. Mission archéologique de Saqqarah V*, Cairo 2015, 233–235.

⁷⁶ Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs II*, 373–376; Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV*, pl. lvi.

⁷⁷ Determinatives, however, may not have been needed on objects that are what the term denotes, and when they are, they may have been considered ‘redundant’; see H. G. Fischer, *Redundant determinatives in the Old Kingdom*, in: MMJ 8, 1973, 7–25. In addition, space constraints may sometimes have played a role in the decision whether or not to include a determinative.

⁷⁸ A. Oppenheim et al. (eds), *Ancient Egypt transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, New Haven 2015, 265–266, no. 201. See also Lapp, in: MDAIK 50.

typical of tomb complexes into an impressive three-dimensional stela.⁷⁹ Only one naos-type stela, namely Vienna ÄS 186, features the term *šps*,⁸⁰ but it is not accompanied by a determinative that could confirm any alleged correlation between the shape of the stela and the term used on it. As I have shown for other stelae above, such a connection is superfluous. In fact, several stelae whose inscriptions describe them as *šps* have entirely different shapes; for example stela Florence Inv. 2590 (ANOC 44.2) is a traditional round-topped stela while Florence Inv. 2561 (ANOC 32.2) is a rectangular stela with cavetto cornice. Moreover, two examples bearing the term are rock inscriptions near Aswan, demonstrating that *šps* could not simply denote a type of free-standing stela. Lapp's characterisation of the stela of Kemes as a *šps*-type stela is, again, solely based on its external shape.



Fig. 8. Stela MMA 2014.283a, b⁸¹

By way of contrast, Müller disagrees with the interpretation of *šps* as a type of stela.⁸² He argues that since it is sometimes written with the house determinative, which indicates a

⁷⁹ As noted in the exhibition catalogue, this artefact cleverly materialises a fascinating game of perspective. The lower part represents a recessed enclosure wall while the upper part resembles a tomb-chapel with its wall decorations. The smaller dimensions of the top of the monument indicate that this section (the tomb-chapel) was probably meant to be enclosed within the walls of the bottom part. See Oppenheim et al. (eds), *Ancient Egypt transformed*, 265–266, no. 201.

⁸⁰ British Museum EA 471 also includes the term *šps*. This monument is not a stela proper, but a naos with a statue niche. In any case, it does not have a determinative that could confirm a link between term, determinative, and object.

⁸¹ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/653156>

⁸² Müller, *Die Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, 171, n. 1.

place, it could perhaps be something closer to a *mḥt*.⁸³ Although still too focused on the determinative, Müller at least looked beyond the shape of the stela to bring to the forefront a discussion about its function, of which the determinative could well be a witness. This interpretation was also taken up by Franke and Marée, who translate the term *šps* as a ‘memorial chapel’ that is supposedly ‘made rich by the offerings deposited in it’.⁸⁴ Analysis of the function of self-referential *šps* inscriptions and their integration into the landscape may illuminate their significance to ancient actors.

I argue that two main purposes can be extracted from the attestations of *šps* that I have analysed. First, as with most other stelae, display is a fundamental dimension of these *šps*. Stelae were made to be admired, as indicated in the following inscription: *i nḥw wḥb nb šš nb ḥry-ḥbt nb m33.ty=sn šps-pn ḥs=tn pth swd=tn i3wt n ḥrdw=tn*, ‘o living ones, every wab-priest, every scribe, ever lector-priest who will see this *šps*, if you praise Ptah you will leave your offices to your children’ (Toulouse 49.274, S-2 [ANOC 55.4]).⁸⁵ The emphasis of this inscription is on *seeing* the object, and how this very act would trigger an interaction with the stela and, by extension, with those who are represented on it. This phrase is carved along one edge of the stela rather than on its surface, possibly indicating directionality: if the text was meant to be read, it would need to point at a place where people would pass by, perhaps the processional route in Abydos.

The second notable attribute of stelae bearing the term *šps* is their connection with appeals to the living, which are present on all the examples that I have collected. Appeals foreground a desire for interaction with a living audience, trying to persuade all who pass by to recite invocation offerings in the memory of the person for whom the stela was erected, and often an associated group. A location of *šps* close to processional routes, where they could more easily be admired and interacted with, could perhaps be postulated in parallel with the importance of the ritual landscape of Abydos.

The use of the O20 determinative may lend further support to the argument that *šps* were arranged along a processional route. The O20 shrine determinative is relatively uncommon in Egyptian writing, being restricted to terms that either denote shrines (often, but not exclusively, the *pr-nw* shrine of Lower Egypt) or that indicate the existence of rows. For example, *itrt*, frequently written with the O20 determinative, is sometimes translated as ‘conclave’, but Gardiner argued that it can refer to a row of shrines for the *sed*-festival.⁸⁶ He also proposed that the meaning of *itrt* derived from the flow of the Nile, thus implying directionality. It could be that this idea of directional rows came to be associated with the determinative, so that choosing to use it could reveal something about the physical location of the *šps*, namely as part of a row of monuments along a processional route at Abydos.

These monuments might further be characterised on the basis of what inscriptions communicate about their possible functions. Monuments known as *šps* are never mentioned in connection with *mḥt* in inscriptions, which makes sense if we recognise the possibility that each term perhaps stressed a different function within a similar group of objects,

⁸³ Lapp mentions that when *šps* has the O1 determinative (house), it must refer to the building where the *šps* is located; see Lapp, in: MDAIK 50, 242. He does not, however, consider that the space created by the *šps* could be symbolic.

⁸⁴ Franke–Marée, *Egyptian stelae in the British Museum*, 104, n. 6.

⁸⁵ P. Ramond, *Les stèles égyptiennes du Musée G. Labit à Toulouse*, BdE 62, Cairo 1977, 5–9, pl. ii.

⁸⁶ A. H. Gardiner, *Horus the Behdetite*, in: JEA 30, 1944, esp. 27–28.

namely a memorial chapel. The *šps* would then be a chapel that emphasised the interaction of monuments with passers-by in a ritual landscape, while the *mḥꜥt* pertained to the creation of space. Despite these differences in nuance, both would hint at complementary aspects of memory, and be consistent with the construction of social spaces for active and dynamic memorialisation.

The purposes of other terms for stela are less explicit because they tend to be employed less often in restricted contexts. For example, there seems to be little difference in usage between *ꜥb3* and *wḏ*. Both terms were quite widespread during the Middle Kingdom, are recorded as potential components of a *mḥꜥt*, and are found in connection with ANOC groups. This association with ANOC groups is less statistically frequent in the case of *wḏ*, perhaps due to accidents of preservation or because more specialised terms were preferred when a link with memorial chapels needed to be emphasised.

Yet the most noticeable difference between *ꜥb3* and *wḏ* comes from the nature of the artefacts upon which the terms are inscribed. While *ꜥb3* was always featured in inscriptions on stelae of several shapes,⁸⁷ *wḏ* appears on a wider variety of media, including stelae, rock inscriptions, and even tomb walls. This indicates that the term *wḏ* itself bears no correlation with the type of surface upon which it was inscribed. The concept that it intends to transmit, namely a ‘command’ or ‘decree’ through presence, might be more significant than the mere physical characterisation of the inscribed artefact. The term *ꜥb3*, for its part, was perhaps more firmly linked with stelae due to its relation with the provision of offerings. The use of *ꜥb3* in the *Tale of Sinuhe* (see Table 1) places this type of object in a funerary context, but the practice of commemoration can be understood more broadly, especially at the site of Abydos where both the deceased and living members of the family would be represented on stelae, probably in order to expand the social entourage of the person to whom the monument was dedicated.

The final term that I consider in this article is *srḥ*, of which there are very few occurrences. Despite this, it is recorded as part of a *mḥꜥt*, as well as in connection with an ANOC group, showing its versatility. The use of this term is restricted to the time between the reigns of Amenemhet II and Amenemhet III, but it is unlikely to be the product of a single workshop because attestations are dispersed throughout Egypt, from Dahshur to Abydos and even Nubia. Each of the objects correspond to entirely different material types, namely a shrine, a round-topped stela, and a rock inscription respectively, which again shows that a performative approach may be more appropriate because the meaning of *srḥ* (‘to be made known’) could have been more pertinent than the type of artefact upon which the term was inscribed. Inscriptions on *srḥ* stelae explicitly exhorted passers-by to interact with the monument in a respectful manner, so the artefact presented itself as a tool for communication.

5. Final remarks

In this article I have discussed the emic usage of various terms that have been rendered as ‘stela’ in the context of Middle Kingdom Abydos. I have focused particularly on those attestations of the terms that seem to be self-referential, that is to say, those that include a

⁸⁷ Two references to *ꜥb3* on papyri are the exception, but the passages indicate that the term is also used for stelae in these instances.

demonstrative, implying that they denote the specific object upon which they were inscribed. There is no correspondence between these terms and the external shape of the object, and there are examples of more than one term being featured simultaneously on a single stela. Furthermore, the determinatives show no correlation either with the shape of the stela or with the actual term used. This could suggest that these terms were chosen arbitrarily, without any real connection to the object itself, and perhaps as a result of trends in phraseology. However, I am inclined to see a conscious decision behind this choice, one that embodies the performative aspects of stelae.

Most of the stelae analysed in this article were retrieved from, or attributed to, the site of Abydos, where we know they were clustered into so-called memorial chapels. Those chapels played a fundamental role at the sacred site, where they emphasised the importance of display and interaction, and eventually became essential landmarks. With only a handful of exceptions, stelae from Abydos lack a recorded archaeological context, and it is simply not possible to reliably reconstruct how the ritual landscape of the site may have looked. Still, there are indications of how Egyptians conceptualised it, as the inscriptions demonstrate that stelae and chapels were regarded as foci of memory created by, and for, performance and ongoing celebration.

Space should not be regarded as a given, but rather as something that was constructed and reconstructed over time. Stelae were not erected at Abydos simply because of the sacredness of the site; the placement of stelae and memorial chapels also fostered the recognition of Abydos as a powerful centre for display, and for construction of social identity and commemoration. It is fair to say that Abydos granted a ritual dimension to stelae, but stelae contributed to the conceptual construction of Abydos as well. They actively constructed spaces of memory and celebration that were mediated within the wider community because they encouraged passers-by to engage with those presented upon them. Thus, interactions between the living and monuments were anchored in the landscape, and became a fundamental aspect of the ritual dimension of the site.

What I propose in this article is a performative approach to stelae, that is, an approach based on action and practice instead of on essentialist definitions drawn from observable features of the artefacts. In the case of Abydos, stelae and memorial chapels fostered a dialogue with the monumental record and contributed to the creation of social spaces of commemoration.

Model formulae	
<i>Appeal to the living</i>	
A	<i>i ʕnhw tpw t3 sš nb hry-ḥbt nb sr nb sw3.ty=sn ḥr šps-pn</i> ‘O living ones upon earth, every scribe, every lector-priest, every official who shall pass by this stela’ (Florence 2590 [ANOC 44.2])
B	<i>i ʕnhw tpw t3 sš nb hry-ḥbt nb wʕb nb šd.ty=fy wḏ-pn</i> ‘O living ones upon earth, every scribe, every lector-priest, every wab-priest who shall read this stela aloud’ (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum Queen’s College 1113)
C	<i>sw3.ty=sn ḥr mʕḥt-tn šd.ty=sn wḏ(=i)-pn</i> ‘Anyone who shall pass by this mʕḥt, anyone who will read this (my) stela aloud’ (Cairo CG 20538)
D	<i>ʕnhw tpw t3 mrrw ʕnh msddw ḥpt m33.ty=sn wḏ-pn dd=tn</i> ‘O living ones upon on earth, who love life and hate death, who will see this stela, may you say...’ (Hermitage Inv. 1073)
<i>Dedication formula</i>	
A	<i>in s3=fmr=fNN ir.n=fʕb3-pn</i> ‘It was his beloved son NN who made this stela’ (Cairo CG 20162)
B	<i>ir.n=i wḏ n it n it=i m ḥtp-di-nsw</i> ‘I made a stela for the father of my father as a ḥtp-di-nsw’ (Louvre C 240 [ANOC 3.2])
C	<i>dī=sn mʕḥt nfrt</i> ‘That they [the gods] may give a perfect mʕḥt’ (Cairo CG 20748 [ANOC 34.2])
<i>sʕnh-formula</i>	
	<i>in s3=i sʕnh rn=i ḥr wḏ-pn</i> ‘It is my son who makes my name live on this stela’ (Leiden AP 13)
<i>Entourage formula</i>	
A	<i>n k3 n nty nb ḥr wḏ-pn</i> ‘For the ka of everyone on this stela’ (Cairo CG 20577)
B	<i>n k3 n nty nb rn=f ḥr wḏ-pn</i> ‘For the ka of everyone whose name is on this stela’ (Leiden AP 23 [ANOC vii.3])

<i>Building inscriptions</i>	
A	<i>ir.n=i grt m^ch^ct r rwd n ntr ʕ3</i> ‘I built a m ^c h ^c t by the terrace of the great god’ (British Museum EA 575 [ANOC 43.2])
B	<i>ir.n=i n=i m^ch^ct tw s3hty smnh st=s r rwd n ntr ʕ3</i> ‘I built for me a m ^c h ^c t, it being made effective and its place being made excellent by the terrace of the great god’ (Manchester 3306 [ANOC 69.1])
C	<i>ir.n(=i) grt m^ch^ct-tn m t3-wr 3bdw t3 dsr 3ht imnt</i> ‘I built this m ^c h ^c t in Abydos in the Thinite nome, the sacred land, the Western horizon’ (Petrie Museum UC14385)
D	<i>ir.n=i grt m^ch^ct-tn hr w^crt nbt htpt n t3-wr 3bdw</i> ‘I built this m ^c h ^c t on the district of the lady of offerings in Abydos of the nome of Tawer’ (British Museum EA 573)
E	<i>ir m^ch^ct-tn ir.t.n(=i) r rwd n ntr ʕ3</i> ‘As for this m ^c h ^c t, which I built by the terrace of the great god...’ (Leiden AP 69 [ANOC 40.2])
F	<i>ir.n=i grt m^ch^ct-tn hr mshnt nt 3bdw</i> ‘I built this m ^c h ^c t on the birthplace [resting place] of Abydos’ (Leiden AP 72–73; 74–76)
G	<i>in NN ir wd-pn</i> ‘NN is the one who has made this stela’ (Rock inscription from Hatnub)

Table 1. *ʿb3*

Attestations	Object type	Provenance	Determinative	Inscription	Dating
Cairo CG 20016 ⁸⁸	Stela, rectangular with cavetto cornice	Abydos, ANOC 11.1	No determinative	Appeal to the living (A)	Late 12th or early 13th dynasty ⁸⁹
Cairo CG 20025 ⁹⁰	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, North Cemetery	O26 (round-topped stela)	Appeal to the living (C)	Year 10 of Senusret III
Cairo CG 20061 ⁹¹	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, North Cemetery	O39 (stone)	Appeal to the living (variant of A) ⁹²	Uncertain date
Cairo CG 20093 ⁹³	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, North Cemetery, northern area, ANOC 49.1	Z1 (stroke)	Appeal to the living (variant of B), see also <i>mʿhʿt</i> below	Sobekhotep II ⁹⁴
Cairo CG 20162 ⁹⁵	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, North Cemetery	O26 (round-topped stela)	Dedication formula by his son (A)	Uncertain date
Cairo CG 20164 ⁹⁶	Stela, rectangular with cavetto cornice	Abydos, North Cemetery	No determinative	Appeal to the living (A)	13th dynasty, Antaeopolis Workshop 5 ⁹⁷

⁸⁸ H. O. Lange–H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo I* (No. 2001–20399), CG 51, Berlin 1902, 15–16; Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*, pl. 20, miscaptioned.

⁸⁹ Franke, *Personendaten*, no. 475.

⁹⁰ Lange–Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I*, 29–33.

⁹¹ Lange–Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I*, 75; Shubert, *Those who (still) live on earth*, 128.

⁹² *mrrw ntr=f niwty nswt imy h3w=f sw3.ty=fy hr ʿb3-pn*, ‘beloved of his local god and of his reigning king is the one who shall pass by this stela’.

⁹³ Lange–Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I*, 113–114; Lange–Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV*, pl. ix; Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*, pl. 67; Shubert, *Those who (still) live on earth*, 174–175.

⁹⁴ Franke, *Personendaten*, no. 622.

⁹⁵ Lange–Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I*, 192–193; Grallert, *Bauen—Stiften—Weißen*, 96.

⁹⁶ Lange–Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I*, 195–196; Lange–Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV*, pl. xiv; Shubert, *Those who (still) live on earth*, 122.

⁹⁷ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 153.

Cairo 20394 ⁹⁸	CG	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, north enclosure wall, Kom es-Sultan	O39 (stone)	Appeal to the living (A)	Uncertain date
Cairo 20458 ⁹⁹	CG	Stela, round-topped outline within rectangular slab	Abydos, North Cemetery, ANOC 24.1	Z1 (stroke) and O39 (stone) for the first occurrence and only Z1 (stroke) for the second	Appeal to the living (A) and curse ¹⁰⁰	Late Senusret I to early Amenemhet II ¹⁰¹
Cairo 20516 ¹⁰²	CG	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, north enclosure wall, Kom es-Sultan	O39 (stone)	Appeal to the living (A)	Year 30 of Amenemhet I, year 10 of Senusret I ¹⁰³
Cairo 20518 ¹⁰⁴	CG	Stela, rectangular, horizontal	Abydos, west cemetery, close to Shunet es-Sebib	O21 (façade of shrine)	Appeal to the living (A)	Year 7 of Senusret I
BM 101 ¹⁰⁵	EA	Stela, rectangular with cavetto cornice	Unknown, probably from Abydos	Undetermined rectangular sign, perhaps O21 (façade of	Narrative describing the transportation of the stela	Senusret III to Amenemhet III ¹⁰⁷

⁹⁸ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I, 390–391.

⁹⁹ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs II, 56–58; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, pl. 36; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 115–116.

¹⁰⁰ *ir grt s nb ir.ty=fy d3t-t3 r ʿb3=i-pn wnn=i wdʿ.kw hnʿ=f m bw nty wdʿ mdw im*, ‘as for anyone who will damage this stela of mine, I will be judged with him in the place where judgement is’. This stela is inscribed in hieratic and the sign was interpreted as ʿhʿ in the Cairo Catalogue, but I suggest it should be read ʿb3 instead because no other instances of ʿhʿw are known from before the New Kingdom.

¹⁰¹ Freed, Stela workshops, 323–327, workshop no. 9.

¹⁰² Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs II, 108–111; Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pl. xxxv; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weißen, 104.

¹⁰³ Franke, Personendaten, no. 137; see also Freed, Stela workshops, 310–312, workshop no. 4.

¹⁰⁴ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs II, 113–114; Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pl. xxxv; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 154–155.

¹⁰⁵ E. A. W. Budge, Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae, &c., in the British Museum II, London 1912, pls 1–2; A. M. Blackman, The stela of Nebipusenwosret: British Museum No. 101, in: JEA 21/1, 1935, 1–9; Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian autobiographies, 122–124; J. W. Wegner, The mortuary temple of Senwosret III at Abydos, PPYE 8, New Haven–Philadelphia 2007, 395–398; R. Landgráfová, It is my good name that you should remember: Egyptian biographical texts on Middle Kingdom stelae, Prague 2011, 216–218.

				shrine)	south to Abydos ¹⁰⁶	
BM 202 ¹⁰⁸	EA	Stela, round- topped	Abydos, ANOC 1.6	O39 (stone)	Dedication formula (variant of A); see also <i>mḥṯ</i> below	Senusret III to Amenemhet III, Memphis- Faiyum Region Workshop 2 ¹⁰⁹
BM 233 ¹¹⁰	EA	Stela, round- topped, broken bottom	Found in Malta, probably from Abydos	No determinative	Appeal to the living (A)	Amenemhet III
BM 562 ¹¹¹	EA	Stela, broken top, probably rectangular	Abydos, ANOC 5.3	O39 (stone) and Z3 (plural strokes)	<i>ḥr=i ḥt.n=i</i> [...]= <i>i ḥr</i> <i>ḥb3w=i</i> , ‘my face, which I carved [...] on my own stelae’, followed by appeal to the living (A)	Senusret I ¹¹²
Vienna 90 ¹¹³	ÄS	Stela, rectangular	Unknown, probably from Abydos	O39 (stone)	Dedication formula by his eldest son (A)	Amenemhet I to Senusret I ¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁷ Franke, Personendaten, no. 297; Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 189.

¹⁰⁶ *ḥnt ḥb3-pn m-ḥ hry-ḥbt wr ibi ḥtf iy wnwṯ ḥwt-ntr r m33 nsw m ḥb=f nfr dt*, ‘this stela went south in charge of the chief lector-priest Ibi when the priesthood of the temple came to see the king in his beautiful festival of eternity’.

¹⁰⁸ E. A. W. Budge, Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae, &c., in the British Museum III, London 1912, pl. 11; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, 11, pl. 3.

¹⁰⁹ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 82–83; see also Franke, Personendaten, nos 27, 254.

¹¹⁰ E. A. W. Budge, Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae, &c., in the British Museum IV, London 1913, pl. 14; A. I. Meza, Ancient Egypt in Malta: an ancestor bust from the Delta and other objects, in: Z. Hawass–L. Pinch Brock (eds), Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century. Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologist. Cairo, 2000, Volume 3: Language, conservation, museology, Cairo 2003, 308–310; J. Young, et al., Egyptian stelae from Malta, in: The British Museum Technical Research Bulletin 3, 2009, 23–30.

¹¹¹ Budge, HT II, pl. 24; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, pl. 12; Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian autobiographies, 108–109; Landgráfová, It is my good name that you should remember, 120–122.

¹¹² Franke, Personendaten, no. 138; see also Freed, Stela workshops, 323–327, workshop no. 9.

¹¹³ I. Hein–H. Satzinger, Stelen des Mittleren Reiches: einschliesslich der I. und II. Zwischenzeit. Teil II, CAA 7, Mainz 1993, 7,7–11; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weißen, 100.

¹¹⁴ W. K. Simpson, The steward Iey’s son Anhurhotpe in Vienna (Stela Inv. 90) and the Reisner papyri, in: SAK 11, 1984, 157–164; see also Franke, Personendaten, no. 152; Freed, Stela workshops, 323–327, workshop no. 9.

Leiden F 95/8.3 ¹¹⁵	Stela, round- topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	O21 (façade of shrine)	Appeal to the living (A)	13th dynasty
Louvre C 169 [E.3107] ¹¹⁶	Stela, round- topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	No determinative; reading uncertain due to worn surface	Appeal to the living (A)	Amenemhet II to Senusret II ¹¹⁷
Louvre C 196 [E.3113] ¹¹⁸	Stela, rectangular	Unknown, probably from Abydos	Z1 (stroke) and O39 (stone)	Appeal to the living (A)	Senusret I ¹¹⁹
Louvre C 240 [E.3461] ¹²⁰	Stela, rectangular	Unknown, probably from Abydos, ANOC 3.2	Z1 (stroke) and O39 (stone)	Dedication formula for a father's father (B)	Senusret II ¹²¹
Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1197 ¹²²	Stela, rectangular, horizontal	Unknown	O39 (stone)	Dedication formula by a son (variant of A including <i>sḥnh</i> -formula) ¹²³	Late 11th dynasty
Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7732 ¹²⁴	Stela, round- topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos,	Z1 (stroke)	Appeal to the living (A)	13th dynasty ¹²⁵

¹¹⁵ P. A. A. Boeser, *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden II*, 2 vols, Leiden 1907, 41, no. 24; P. A. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden II: die Denkmäler der Zeit zwischen dem Alten und Mittleren Reich und des Mittleren Reiches. 1: Stelen*, The Hague 1909, 7, pl. xvii, no. 19.

¹¹⁶ A. H. Gardiner, *Notes on some stelae*, in: *RecTrav* 19, 1897, 85.

¹¹⁷ A. Spalinger, *The private feast lists of ancient Egypt*, *ÄA* 57, Wiesbaden 1996, 45–46.

¹¹⁸ E. Gayet, *Musée du Louvre: stèles de la XIIe dynastie*, *BEHE* 68, Paris 1886, pl. lix.

¹¹⁹ C. Barbotin, *La voix des hiéroglyphes: promenade au Département des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Louvre*, Paris 2005, 148–149.

¹²⁰ Gayet, *Musée du Louvre: stèles de la XIIe dynastie*, pl. lx; Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*, pl. 9.

¹²¹ Franke, *Personendaten*, no. 763.

¹²² H. Schäfer–W. Wreszinski–H. Ranke, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin I*, 2 vols, Leipzig 1913, 162.

¹²³ *in s3=f mry=f iw=f sḥnh rn=f kd is=f sḥḥ b3=f smnh st=f nt hrt-ntr*, ‘it is his beloved son and his heir who made his name live, who built his tomb, who erected his stela, who established his place in the necropolis’.

		ANOC 74.2			
Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 19500 ¹²⁶	Stela, round- topped	Elephantine	Z1 (stroke) and O39 (stone)	Appeal to the living (A)	13th dynasty, perhaps Sobekhotep IV ¹²⁷
Petrie Museum UC14345 ¹²⁸	Stela, rectangular	Unknown, probably from Abydos	No determinative	Entourage formula (variant of A mentioning the <i>smyt</i>)	Late 12th to early 13th dynasty ¹²⁹
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek AEIN 1539 ¹³⁰	Stela, round- topped	Haraga	O41 (double stairway)	Appeal to the living (A); appeal to the living (B); see also <i>wḏ</i> above	13th dynasty ¹³¹
New York, MMA 12.184 ¹³²	Stela, rectangular	Abydos	O39 (stone), no determinative, no determinative, O39 (stone)	Dedication by a king (B), appeal to the living (variant of D, 'hear this stela'), appeal to the living	Year 17 of Senusret I ¹³⁵

¹²⁴ Schäfer–Wreszinski–Ranke, *Aegyptische Inschriften I*, 205–6; Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*, pl. 40.

¹²⁵ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 188; see also Franke, *Personendaten*, nos 516, 517.

¹²⁶ Schäfer–Wreszinski–Ranke, *Aegyptische Inschriften I*, 260–261; I. Müller, *Eine Stele des Mittleren Reiches von Elephantine*, in: *FuB* 24, 1984, 30–33; S. Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit: biographische Inschriften der 13–17. Dynastie*, SDAIK 34, Berlin–New York 2008, 251–254, pl. 8b.

¹²⁷ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 188.

¹²⁸ A. E. P. B. Weigall, *Some inscriptions in Prof. Petrie's collection of Egyptian antiquities*, in: *RecTrav* 29, 1907, 216; H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian stelae, reliefs and paintings from the Petrie collection II*, Warminster 1976, 27–28, no. 115, pl. 29.1; Olabarria in: *ZÄS* 145/1, 66.

¹²⁹ Grajetzki–Stefanović, *Dossiers of ancient Egyptians*, no. 45.

¹³⁰ M. Mogensen, *La collection égyptienne de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, 2 vols, Copenhagen 1930, 92, A 688, pl. xcvi; Koefoed-Petersen, *Les stèles égyptiennes*, 10–11, no. 11, pl. 11a–b; M. Jørgensen, *Catalogue, Egypt I (3000–1550 B.C.): Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Catalogue / Ny Carlsberg glyptotek*, Copenhagen 1996, 196–197, no. 82; Shubert, *Those who (still) live on earth*, 70–71.

¹³¹ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 250; see also Franke, *Personendaten*, no. 472.

¹³² C. L. Ransom, *The stela of Menthu-weser*, New York 1913; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian autobiographies*, 104–105; Hayes, *The scepter of Egypt*, 299–300, fig. 195; C. Obsomer, *Sésostris Ier: étude chronologique et historique du règne*, *Connaissance de l'Égypte ancienne* 5, Brussels 1995, 567–570, no. 41; Shubert, *Those who (still) live on earth*, 131–132; Landgráfová, *It is my good name that you should remember*, 130–133; Oppenheim et al. (eds), *Ancient Egypt transformed*, 125–127, no. 60.

				(variant of C), ¹³³ offering formula ¹³⁴	
Liverpool, World Museum M.13846 (now lost) ¹³⁶	Stela, round-topped	Unknown	No determinative	Appeal to the living (A)	Late 12th dynasty ¹³⁷
Liège, Musée Curtius I/630 ¹³⁸	Stela, rectangular with inscribed cavetto cornice	Unknown, probably from Abydos	No determinative	Building inscription (variant of A) ¹³⁹	Late 12th dynasty ¹⁴⁰
Pittsburgh, Carnegie Museum of Natural History Acc. Z9-497 ¹⁴¹	Stela, round-topped	Unknown	O39 (stone)	Appeal to the living (A)	Late 11th or early 12th dynasty ¹⁴²
Papyrus Berlin 3022 (<i>The Tale of Sinuhe</i>) ¹⁴³	Literary text on papyrus	Unknown, possibly a tomb in Thebes ¹⁴⁴	O39 (stone) and Z3 (plural strokes)	Literary text; section describing provisions that	Early Middle Kingdom composition ¹⁴⁶

¹³⁵ Franke, Personendaten, no. 258; see also Freed, Stela workshops, 320–323, workshop no. 8.

¹³³ *ir grt sš nb šd.ty=fy ꜥb3-pn rmt nb spr.ty=sn*, ‘and as for any scribe who shall read this stela aloud and all the people who shall reach it’.

¹³⁴ *t hñkt k3 3pdw ḥꜥw df3w n nb ꜥb3-pn*, ‘bread and beer, oxen and fowl, food and nourishment, for the owner of this stela’.

¹³⁶ A. H. Gardiner–K. Sethe, *Egyptian letters to the dead, mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms*, London 1928, 28, pl. xi; Shubert, *Those who (still) live on earth*, 108–109.

¹³⁷ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 240; see also Franke, Personendaten, no. 68.

¹³⁸ B. Van de Walle, *Une stèle égyptienne du Moyen Empire au Musée Curtius de Liège*, in: AIP 3, 1935, 563–574; M. Malaise, *Antiquités égyptiennes et verres du Proche-Orient ancien des Musées Curtius et du verre à Liège*, Liège 1971, 48–50, no. 7, pl. iii–v; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian autobiographies*, 103–104; Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 154–156, pl. 1b; Landgráfová, *It is my good name that you should remember*, 234.

¹³⁹ *ir.n(=i) ꜥb3-pn ḥft iwt=i ḥr šms mnw n wsir nb 3bdw nb t3-dsr*, ‘(I) made this stela when I came to serve the monuments of Osiris, lord of Abydos, lord of the sacred land’.

¹⁴⁰ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 239.

¹⁴¹ D. C. Patch, *Reflections of greatness: ancient Egypt at the Carnegie Museum of Natural History*, Pittsburgh 1990, 22–23, no. 14.

¹⁴² D. Franke, *The good shepherd Antef (stela BM EA 1628)*, in: JEA 93, 2007, 50, n. 58.

¹⁴³ R. Koch, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*, BAe 17, Brussels 1990, 62, line 196; R. B. Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and other ancient Egyptian poems, 1940–1640 BC*, Oxford World’s Classics, Oxford 1998, 36.

¹⁴⁴ R. B. Parkinson, *Reading ancient Egyptian poetry: among other histories*, Chichester 2006, 71–112.

				the king will make for Sinuhe upon his death ¹⁴⁵	
Papyrus Berlin 3024 (<i>Dialogue of a man and his ba</i>) ¹⁴⁷	Literary text on papyrus	Unknown, possibly a tomb in Thebes ¹⁴⁸	Z3 (plural strokes)	Literary text; section describing how everyone will fall into oblivion ¹⁴⁹	Mid-12th dynasty ¹⁵⁰
Total: 29 monuments (30 attestations)					

¹⁴⁶ R. B. Parkinson, *Poetry and culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: a dark side to perfection*, Athlone Publications in Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies, London–New York 2002, 297–298.

¹⁴⁵ *nis.tw n=k dbḥwt-ḥtpw sft.tw r-r3 ʿb3w=k*, ‘one will summon funerary meals for you; one will make sacrifices by your stelae’.

¹⁴⁷ R. O. Faulkner, *The man who was tired of life*, in: JEA 42, 1956, 21–40; Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe*, 157, lines 60–63.

¹⁴⁸ Parkinson, *Reading ancient Egyptian poetry*, 71–112.

¹⁴⁹ *ḳdw m inr n m3t ḥwsiw m mḥrw nfrw m k3t nfrt ḥpr skdw m ntrw ʿb3w ʾry wšw*, ‘those who built in granite, those who built perfect pyramids as perfect works, so that the builders would become like gods, their stelae are destroyed’.

¹⁵⁰ Parkinson, *Poetry and culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 309–310.

Table 2. *wd*

Attestations		Object type	Provenance	Determinative	Inscription	Dating
Cairo 20057 ¹⁵¹	CG	Stela, rectangular with cavetto cornice	Abydos, North Cemetery	O39 (stone)	Entourage formula (A)	Late 12th dynasty ¹⁵²
Cairo 20140 ¹⁵³	CG	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, ANOC 1.3	No determinative	Dedication formula (B)	Year 1 of Amenemhet III, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 2 ¹⁵⁴
Cairo 20329 ¹⁵⁵	CG	Stela, broken top, probably round-topped	Edfu	O39 (stone)	Appeal to the living (A)	Second Intermediate Period ¹⁵⁶
Cairo 20443 ¹⁵⁷	CG	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, North Cemetery	O39 (stone)	Building inscription (variant of G)	Uncertain date
Cairo 20538 ¹⁵⁸	CG	Stela, round-topped, double-sided (stela of	Abydos, north enclosure wall, Kom	Y1 (papyrus roll)	Appeal to the living (C); see also <i>m^ch^ct</i> below	Amenemhet III ¹⁵⁹

¹⁵¹ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I, 68–71; Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pl. vi; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weißen, 104.

¹⁵² Franke, Personendaten, no. 348.

¹⁵³ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I, 165–166; Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pl. xiii; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, pl. 2.

¹⁵⁴ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 82–83; see also Franke, Personendaten, nos 1, 27, 235, 543, 705.

¹⁵⁵ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I, 342; Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pl. xxiv; M. Marée, Edfu under the twelfth to seventeenth dynasties: the monuments in the National Museum of Warsaw, in: BMSAES 12, 2009, 52–56.

¹⁵⁶ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 206; see also Franke, Personendaten, no. 418; Grajetzki-Stefanović, Dossiers of ancient Egyptians, no. 143.

¹⁵⁷ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs II, 40.

¹⁵⁸ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs II, 145–150; Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pl. xl; M. Kamal, The stela of *sh^tp-ib-r^c* in the Egyptian Museum, in: ASAE 38, 1938, 265–283; M. Kamal, The stela of *sh^tp-ib-r^c* in the Egyptian Museum, in: ASAE 40, 1940, 209–229; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, 11; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weißen, 78–79, 482; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 178–180; W. Grajetzki, Court officials of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom, Duckworth Egyptology, London 2009, pl. 5; Landgráfová, It is my good name that you should remember, 219–225.

¹⁵⁹ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 209; see also Franke, Personendaten, no. 692.

	Sehetepibre)	es-Sultan			
Cairo CG 20539 ¹⁶⁰	Stela, round-topped, double-sided (stela of Montuhotep)	Abydos, north enclosure wall, Kom es-Sultan, ANOC no number ¹⁶¹	Y1 (papyrus roll)	Appeal to the living (C); see also <i>m^ch^ct</i> below	Senusret I to Amenemhet II ¹⁶²
Cairo CG 20577 (royal) ¹⁶³	Stela, round-topped outline within rectangular slab	Abydos, Middle Cemetery, east area	O39 (stone)	Entourage formula (A)	Late 12th dynasty, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 3 ¹⁶⁴
Cairo JE 35256 (royal) ¹⁶⁵	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, south-western area of North Cemetery	O39 (stone), all four occurrences	Setting up (<i>smn</i>) stelae delimiting the sacred space of Abydos	Khutawyre Ugaf
Cairo TR 19.4.22.1 ¹⁶⁶	Stela, broken top	Elephantine, cemetery of sacred rams	Y1 (papyrus roll)	Building inscription (variant of G with verb <i>s^ch^c</i>)	Senusret I
BM EA 204 ¹⁶⁷	Stela, round-	Unknown,	O39 (stone)	Appeal to	Second half of 13th

¹⁶⁰ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs II, 150–158; Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pl. xli–xlii; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, 11; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weißen, 479; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 132–134; Landgráfová, It is my good name that you should remember, 167–179.

¹⁶¹ O. Berlev, Review of ‘The terrace of the great god at Abydos: the offering chapels of dynasties 12 and 13’ by William Kelly Simpson (1974), in: BiOr 33, 324–326; Franke, Personendaten, no. 262.

¹⁶² Franke, Personendaten, no. 262; see also Freed, Stela workshops, 323–327, workshop no. 9.

¹⁶³ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs II, 217–218.

¹⁶⁴ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 83.

¹⁶⁵ D. Randall-MacIver–A. C. Mace–F. Ll. Griffith, El Amrah and Abydos, 1899–1901, MEEF 23, London 1902, 64, 84, 93, pl. xxix; W. Helck, Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie, KÄT 6/1, Wiesbaden 1975, 18; A. Leahy, A protective measure at Abydos in the Thirteenth Dynasty, in: JEA 75, 1989, 41–60.

¹⁶⁶ L. Habachi, Building activities of Sesostri I in the area to the south of Thebes, in: MDAIK 31, 1975, 27–37; D. Franke, Sesostri I., ‘König der beiden Länder’ und Demiurg in Elephantine, in: P. Der Manuelian (ed.), Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson I, Boston 1996, 274–295; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weißen, 188; E. Hirsch, Kultpolitik und Tempelbauprogramme der 12. Dynastie: Untersuchungen zu den Göttertempeln im Alten Ägypten, PhD Diss. [unpublished], Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz 2004, 196–197.

¹⁶⁷ Budge, HT III, 7, pl. 16; Franke–Marée, Egyptian stelae in the British Museum, 25–29, pl. 6.

	topped	probably from Abydos		the living (A)	dynasty
BM EA 1203 ¹⁶⁸	Stela, rectangular, horizontal	Thebes	Y2 (papyrus roll)	Building inscription, indicating when the stela was set up	Early reign of Mentuhotep II
Vienna ÄS 168 ¹⁶⁹	Stela, round- topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	No determinative	Appeal to the living (A)	Sobekhotep III to Neferhotep I, Memphis- Faiyum Region Workshop 4 ¹⁷⁰
Vienna ÄS 169 ¹⁷¹	Stela, round- topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	O39 (stone)	Appeal to the living (A)	Late 12th dynasty ¹⁷²
Turin, Museo Egizio Cat. 1547 ¹⁷³	Stela, rectangular with cavetto cornice	Qaw el- Kebir (Tomb 7)	O39 (stone)	Appeal to the living (A)	Late 12th dynasty, Antaeopolis Workshop 4 ¹⁷⁴
Florence, Museo Archeologico 2500 ¹⁷⁵	Stela with pedestal, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	Y1 (papyrus roll)	Appeal to the living (A)	13th dynasty ¹⁷⁶

¹⁶⁸ E. A. W. Budge, *Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae, &c., in the British Museum I*, London 1911, pl. 53; E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian sculptures in the British Museum*, London 1914, pl. vii; J. J. Clère–J. Vandier, *Textes de la première période intermédiaire et de la XIème dynastie*, BAe 10, Brussels 1948, 19; W. Schenkel, *Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben: die epigraphischen Zeugnisse der 7.–11. Dynastie Ägyptens*, ÄA 12, Wiesbaden 1965, 226–228; Landgráfová, *It is my good name that you should remember*, 24–26.

¹⁶⁹ I. Hein–H. Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches: einschliesslich der I. und II. Zwischenzeit. Teil I*, CAA 4, Mainz 1989, 4,114–117; W. Grajetzki, *Two treasurers of the late Middle Kingdom*, BAR International Series 1007, Oxford 2001, pl. 5a.

¹⁷⁰ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 89–90; see also Grajetzki–Stefanović, *Dossiers of ancient Egyptians*, no. 201.

¹⁷¹ Hein–Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches II*, 7,87–93.

¹⁷² Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 265.

¹⁷³ H. Steckeweh, *Die Fürstengräber von Qâw*, Leipzig 1936, pl. 17a; E. D'Amicone, *The rock tombs of the governors of Qau el-Kebir: Wakhka I, Wakhka II and Ibu*, in: A. M. Donadoni Roveri (ed.), *Egyptian civilization: religious beliefs*, Milan–Turin 1988, 118, fig. 159; D. Franke, *Middle Kingdom hymns, other sundry religious texts: an inventory*, in: S. Meyer (ed.), *Egypt: Temple of the whole world. Ägypten: Tempel der gesamten Welt. Studies in honour of Jan Assmann*, Leiden 2003, 102; Shubert, *Those who (still) live on earth*, 123; Yamamoto, *The art of the stela*, 36, fig. 40.

¹⁷⁴ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 152–153; see also Franke, *Personendaten*, no. 199.

¹⁷⁵ E. Schiaparelli, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze: antichità egizie I*, Rome 1887, 265–268, no. 1551; S. Bosticco, *Le stele egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno*, Rome 1959, 33–35, pls 30a–c; Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, 53.

¹⁷⁶ Grajetzki–Stefanović, *Dossiers of ancient Egyptians*, no. 205; Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 228.

	and double-sided				
Florence, Museo Archeologico 7599 ¹⁷⁷	Stela, broken top	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	No determinative	Appeal to the living (A)	Amenemhet III, imitation of 12th dynasty Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 6 ¹⁷⁸
Leiden AP 13 ¹⁷⁹	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	Y1 (papyrus roll)	<i>sʕnh</i> formula (by his son)	12th dynasty
Leiden AP 23 ¹⁸⁰	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos, ANOC vii.3	Narrow rectangular sign with a straight top on a flat base	Entourage formula (B)	Amenemhet III to late 12th dynasty, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 5 ¹⁸¹
Leiden AP 36 ¹⁸²	Stela, rectangular with cavetto cornice	Unknown, probably from Abydos, ANOC ix.2	O39 (stone) in both occurrences	Appeal to the living (A) and entourage formula (A)	Late 12th dynasty ¹⁸³
Leiden L.XI.8 ¹⁸⁴	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	Y1 (papyrus roll)	Appeal to the living (A)	Late 12th dynasty ¹⁸⁵
Louvre C 1 [N.155] ¹⁸⁶	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably	Z1 (stroke), Y1 (papyrus roll)	Narrative explaining	Year 24 of Amenemhet I, ¹⁸⁸

¹⁷⁷ Bosticco, *Le stele egiziane*, 45, pl. 41.

¹⁷⁸ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 85.

¹⁷⁹ C. Leemans, *Description raisonnée des monumens égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*, Leiden 1840, V 88; Boeser, *Catalogus II*, 38, no. 9; Boeser, *Beschreibung II*, 5, pl. x, no. 11; Grallert, *Bauen—Stiften—Weißen*, 696; Landgráfová, *It is my good name that you should remember*, 280–282.

¹⁸⁰ Leemans, *Description raisonnée*, V 103; Boeser, *Catalogus II*, 44, no. 42; Boeser, *Beschreibung II*, 9, pl. xiii, no. 30.

¹⁸¹ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 84; see also Franke, *Personendaten*, nos 596, 772.

¹⁸² Leemans, *Description raisonnée*, V 101; Boeser, *Catalogus II*, 42, no. 31; Boeser, *Beschreibung II*, 12, pl. xxxvii, no. 48.

¹⁸³ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 237; Franke, *Personendaten*, nos 159, 630, 710.

¹⁸⁴ Leemans, *Description raisonnée*, V 72; Boeser, *Catalogus II*, 42, no. 27; Boeser, *Beschreibung II*, 7, pl. xvii, no. 22.

¹⁸⁵ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 238.

¹⁸⁶ Gayet, *Musée du Louvre: stèles de la XIIe dynastie*, pl. i; Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*, pl. 14; Obsomer, *Sésostris Ier*, 546–552; Barbotin, *La voix des hieroglyphs*, 142–144; Landgráfová, *It is my good name that you should remember*, 107–111.

		from Abydos, ANOC 6.2	and O39 (stone)	how the text on the stela is a true account ¹⁸⁷	alternatively, year 8 of Senusret I ¹⁸⁹
Louvre C 5 ¹⁹⁰	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, ANOC 1.7	O26 (round-topped stela)	Building inscription (variant of G) mentioning terrace of great god; see also <i>m^ch^ct</i> below	Year 1 of Amenemhet III, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 1 ¹⁹¹
Louvre C 43 [N.197] ¹⁹²	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	O39 (stone) and undetermined vertical sign (perhaps a Y1, papyrus roll)	Entourage formula (variant of A)	13th dynasty, time of treasurer Senebsumai Theban Workshop 2 ¹⁹³
Louvre C 302 [E.1305] ¹⁹⁴	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	Y1 (papyrus roll)	Appeal to the living (variant of B), added in ink	Early 12th dynasty
Zagreb, Archaeological Museum Inv. 589 ¹⁹⁵	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	No determinative	Appeal to the living (A)	13th dynasty ¹⁹⁶

¹⁸⁸ Franke, Personendaten, no. 282; see also Freed, Stela workshops, 307–310, workshop no. 3.

¹⁸⁷ *ir mdt nbt ntt wd-pn [mtrt] pw nt hprt m-^c=i*, ‘as for every word on this stela, it is an account of what has happened through me’.

¹⁸⁹ Obsomer, Sésostris Ier, 547.

¹⁹⁰ Gayet, Musée du Louvre: stèles de la XIIe dynastie, pls viii–ix; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, pl. 3; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 164–165.

¹⁹¹ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 80–81; see also Franke, Personendaten, nos 94, 235, 551, 705, 770.

¹⁹² Grajetzki, Two treasurers, 33; Kh. A. Hamza, Zwei Stelen aus dem Mittleren Reich im Louvre, in: MDAIK 63, 2007, 53–59, pl. 9, mislabelled as C 45.

¹⁹³ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 103–104; see also Franke, Personendaten, no. 231; Grajetzki–Stefanović, Dossiers of ancient Egyptians, no. 79.

¹⁹⁴ Ch. Ziegler–B. André-Leicknam, Naissance de l’écriture. Cunéiformes et hieroglyphs, Paris 1982, 292; Ch. Ziegler, L’Égypte au Musée du Louvre, Lausanne 2000, 31.

¹⁹⁵ J. Monnet Saleh, Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb: catalogue raisonné des antiquités égyptiennes conservées au Musée archéologique de Zagreb en Yougoslavie, Paris 1970, 20–21, no. 7; I. Uranić, Pogrebna stela Min-Nakhta u Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu, in: Vjesnik Arheološkog Muzeja u Zagrebu 23, 1990, 183–189; I. Uranić, Aegyptiaca Zagrabiensia: egipatska zbirka Arheoloskog muzeja u Zagrebu = Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Musei Archaeologici Zagrabiensis catalogi et monographiae 4, Zagreb 2007, 75–76, no. 99.

¹⁹⁶ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 267.

St Petersburg, Hermitage Inv. 1073 ¹⁹⁷	Stela, round- topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	O39 (stone) and Z1 (stroke)	Appeal to the living (D)	Late 12th dynasty, Memphis- Faiyum Region Workshop 5 ¹⁹⁸
St Petersburg, Hermitage Inv. 1077 ¹⁹⁹	Stela, rectangular with cavetto cornice	Unknown, probably from Abydos, ANOC ix.3	O39 (stone)	Appeal to the living (A)	Late 12th dynasty ²⁰⁰
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek AEIN 1539 ²⁰¹	Stela, round- topped	Haraga	No determinative	Appeal to the living (B); see also ꜥbꜣ above	13th dynasty ²⁰²
Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico KS 1903 ²⁰³	Stela, rectangular with cavetto cornice	Unknown, probably from Abydos	O26 (round- topped stela)	Appeal to the living (A)	Senusret III ²⁰⁴
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1926.213 ²⁰⁵	Stela, square	Abydos	O39 (stone) and Z1 (stroke)	Entourage formula (B)	Amenemhet III, Memphis- Faiyum Region Workshop 5 ²⁰⁶
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum	Stela, round- topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	Y1 (papyrus roll) and O39 (stone)	Appeal to the living (B)	Late 13th dynasty, Theban Workshop 7 ²⁰⁸

¹⁹⁷ A. O. Bolshakov–S. Quirke, *The Middle Kingdom stelae in the Hermitage*, PIREI 3, Utrecht–Paris 1999, 21–23, no. 2; Shubert, *Those who (still) live on earth*, 148–149.

¹⁹⁸ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 84; see also Franke, *Personendaten*, no. 425.

¹⁹⁹ Bolshakov–Quirke, *The Middle Kingdom stelae in the Hermitage*, 73–78, no. 16.

²⁰⁰ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 233.

²⁰¹ Mogensen, *La collection égyptienne*, 92, A 688, pl. xcvi; Koefoed-Petersen, *Les stèles égyptiennes*, 10–11, no. 11, pl. 11a–b; Jørgensen, *Catalogue, Egypt I*, 196–197, no. 82; Shubert, *Those who (still) live on earth*, 170–171.

²⁰² Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 250; see also Franke, *Personendaten*, no. 472.

²⁰³ G. Kminek-Szedlo, *Saggio filologico per l'apprendimento della lingua e scrittura egiziana e la interpretazione delle iscrizioni geroglifiche che si leggono sui monumenti del Museo civico di Bologna*, Bologna 1877, 83–84, pl. x, fig. 5; G. Kminek-Szedlo, *Catalogo di antichità egizie*, Torino 1895, 178–179; E. Bresciani, *Le stele egiziane del Museo civico archeologico di Bologna*, Bologna 1985, 22–23, pl. 5.

²⁰⁴ Franke, *Personendaten*, no. 110.

²⁰⁵ H. Frankfort, *The Cemeteries of Abydos: work of the Season 1925–26*, in: *JEA* 14, 1928, 239, no. 25, pl. xxi.1; H. Whitehouse, *Ancient Egypt and Nubia in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford 2009, 59–60, no. 29.

²⁰⁶ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 84; see also L. Postel, *Quand réapparaît la forme *ms(w).n*? Réflexions sur la formule de filiation maternelle à la fin du Moyen Empire*, in: I. Régen–F. Servajean (eds), *Verba manent: recueil d'études dédiées à Dimitri Meeks par ses collègues et amis II*, Montpellier 2009, 336–337.

Queen's College 1113 ²⁰⁷					
Tübingen, Ägyptologisches Institut 479 ²⁰⁹	Stela, round- topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	Y1 (papyrus roll)	Appeal to the living (A)	Late 12th or early 13th dynasty ²¹⁰
Boston, MFA 2015.2159 ²¹¹	Stela, round- topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	O39 (stone) and Z1 (stroke)	Entourage formula (B); see also <i>mꜥḥꜥt</i> below	Late 12th dynasty, Memphis- Faiyum Region Workshop 5 ²¹²
Stela of Montuhotep (royal), now in storeroom Sheikh Labib at Karnak ²¹³	Stela, broken, probably rectangular horizontal	Foundations of the third pylon, Karnak	O39 (stone)	Narrative including a royal command to erect a victory stela ²¹⁴	13th dynasty
Moscow, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts I.1.b.32 ²¹⁵	Stela, broken, probably rectangular horizontal	Unknown, probably found at Coptos, where it was brought from Dendera in antiquity	O26 (round- topped stela)	Appeal to the living (variant of B), mentioning a 'terrace' in Dendera	Second Intermediate Period; ²¹⁶ stela apparently belongs to the son-in-law of Sobekemsaf

²⁰⁸ Il'in-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 108; see also Franke, Personendaten, nos 186, 393.

²⁰⁷ P. C. Smither–A. N. Dakin, Stelae in The Queen's College, Oxford, in: JEA 25, 1939, 163–165, no. 4, pl. xxi.4; D. Bright, The dating of four funerary stelae of the twelfth dynasty, in: BACE 17, 2006, 12–13, pl. 4; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 119–120.

²⁰⁹ W. Spiegelberg–B. Pörtner, Ägyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen. Teil I, 3 vols, Strasbourg 1902, 7–8, no. 10, pl. vi; E. Brunner-Traut–H. Brunner, Die ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen, 2 vols, Mainz am Rhein 1981, 82–83, pl. 52.

²¹⁰ Il'in-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 261; see also Franke, Personendaten, nos 10, 244, 525.

²¹¹ J. J. Clère, Une stèle familiale abydénienne de la XIIe dynastie, in: BIFAO 85, 1985, 77–87; Olabarria in: ZÄS 145/1, 64–65.

²¹² Il'in-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 84.

²¹³ P. Vernus, La stèle du pharaon *mntw-ḥtpi* à Karnak: un nouveau témoignage sur la situation politique et militaire au début de la D.P.I., in: RdE 40, 1989, 145–161.

²¹⁴ *rd im* [. . .] *ḥm nḥt.kw ḥr wḏ r ḥtp st=f m w3st nt ipt-swt*, 'cause that one erects [. . .] of my majesty being victorious on a stela to rest in its place in Thebes of Karnak'.

²¹⁵ W. M. F. Petrie, Koptos, London 1896, pl. 12 (London fragment only); Stewart, Egyptian stelae II, 18, no. 79, pl. 15; S. Hodjash–O. Berlev, The Egyptian reliefs and stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, Leningrad 1982, 86–93, no. 41.

²¹⁶ Franke, Personendaten, no. 109.

Inscription at Wadi Hammamat ²¹⁷	Rock inscription	Wadi Hammamat	Y2 (papyrus roll)	Narrative including a royal command to erect a stela for Min ²¹⁸	Year 2 of Montuhotep IV
Stela from Sinai, location unknown ²¹⁹	Stela, round-topped	Approach to temple at Serabit el-Khadim	No determinative	Appeal to the living (A)	Year 4 of Amenemhet IV
Kumma ²²⁰	Rock inscription	Kumma, east face of second ravine east of fort	O26 (round-topped stela)	Appeal to the living (A)	Year 6 of Amenemhet III ²²¹
Kumma ²²²	Rock inscription	Kumma, east face of second ravine east of fort, south of RIK 112	Determinative O26 (round-topped stela) used as ideogram, so perhaps not to be read as <i>wd</i>	Appeal to the living (A)	12th dynasty
Kumma ²²³	Rock inscription	Kumma, east face of second ravine, south of RIK 114	O26 (round-topped stela)	Appeal to the living (A)	Year 6 of Amenemhet III ²²⁴
Kumma ²²⁵	Rock inscription	Kumma, second ravine, south of RIK 115	O26 (round-topped stela)	Appeal to the living (A)	Year 9 of Amenemhet III ²²⁶
Hatnub quarries ²²⁷	Rock inscription	Wall F ²²⁸	Y1 (papyrus roll) and Z3 (plural strokes)	Building inscription (G)	Year 6 of Neheri

²¹⁷ J. Couyat–P. Montet, Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ou adi Hammamat, MIFAO 34, Cairo 1912, 98–100, no. 192, pl. xxxvii.

²¹⁸ *wd hm=f sꜥhꜥ wd-pn n it=f mnw nb h3swt m dw-pn šps p3wt*, ‘his majesty commanded that this stela is erected for his father Min, lord of the desert, on this splendid primeval mountain’.

²¹⁹ A. H. Gardiner–T. E. Peet–J. Černý, The inscriptions of Sinai, MEES 45, 2 vols, 2nd revised edn, London 1952, inscription no. 118, pl. xxxvi; for location see pl. xci.

²²⁰ D. Dunham–M. A. Janssen, Semna, Kumma, Second Cataract forts 1, Boston 1960, 162, RIK 112, pl. 101k, belonging to the same man as RIK 115 and RIK 116.

²²¹ Franke, Personendaten, no. 526.

²²² Dunham–Janssen, Semna, Kumma, 162, RIK 113, pl. 102a.

²²³ Dunham–Janssen, Semna, Kumma, 163, RIK 115, pl. 102c, belonging to the same man as RIK 112 and RIK 116.

²²⁴ Franke, Personendaten, no. 526.

²²⁵ Dunham–Janssen, Semna, Kumma, 164, RIK 116, pl. 102d, belonging to the same man as RIK 113 and RIK 115.

²²⁶ Franke, Personendaten, no. 526.

²²⁷ R. Anthes, Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, UGAÄ 9, Leipzig 1928, 47, no. 21, pl. 20.

²²⁸ Anthes, Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, pl. 3.

Aswan Museum 1475 ²²⁹	Irregular slab	Wadi el-Hudi	Y1 (papyrus roll)	Building inscription (variant of G)	Year 22 of Senusret I
Stela from Hatnub, current location unknown ²³⁰	Irregular slab, with extra fragment	Hatnub	Y1 (papyrus roll)	Appeal to the living (B)	Year 22 of Senusret I
Luxor Museum, J43 (second stela of Kamose) ²³¹	Stela, round-topped	Karnak, first court, reused as a pedestal for a colossal statue of Ramesses II	O39 (stone) and Z1 (stroke)	Narrative including a royal command to erect a victory stela ²³²	17th dynasty
Tomb of Khnumhotep II ²³³	Tomb inscription	Beni Hasan, tomb no 3, 'great inscription'	O26 (round-topped stela) for all six occurrences	Narrative referring to erection of boundary stelae ²³⁴	Amenemhet II
Total: 46 monuments (55 attestations)					

²²⁹ A. Fakhry, The inscriptions of the amethyst quarries at Wadi el Hudi, Egyptian deserts, Cairo 1952, 29–30, no. 11, fig. 24, pl. xiib; A. I. Sadek, The amethyst mining inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi I: text, Modern Egyptology, Warminster 1980, 28–29, no. 11; K.-J. Seyfried, Beiträge zu den Expeditionen des Mittleren Reiches in die Ost-Wüste, HÄB 15, Hildesheim 1981, 27–29, no. 11.

²³⁰ B. Grdseloff, Un nouveau graffito de Hatnoub, in: ASAE 1951, 143–146; G. Posener, Une stèle de Hatnoub, in: JEA 54, 1968, 67–70.

²³¹ L. Habachi, The second Stela of Kamose and his struggle against the Hyksos ruler and his capital, ADAIK 8, Glückstadt 1972, 44, pl. 7, lines 37–38; Helck, Historisch-biographische Texte, 97.

²³² *imy ir.tw irt.n nbt hm m nht hr wd htp st=f m ipt-swt m w3st r nhh hn^c dt*, 'let everything that my majesty did in valour be made on a stela that will rest in its place in Karnak in Thebes forever and ever'.

²³³ P. E. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, ASE 1, London 1893, pls xxv–xxvi, lines 21, 32, 42, 48, 137, 141; A. B. Lloyd, The great inscription of Khnumhotpe II at Beni Hasan, in: A. B. Lloyd (ed.), Studies in pharaonic religion and society in honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths, Occasional Publications 8, London 1992, 22–23; N. Kanawati–L. Evans, Beni Hassan. Volume I. The tomb of Khnumhotep II, ACE Reports 36, Oxford 2014, 32–34, pls 7, 8, 10, 110, 111, 112.

²³⁴ All six attestations refer to boundary stelae and most of them feature variations of the following phrase: *smn.n=f n=i wd rsi smnh mhti mi pt*, 'he [the king] set up for me the southern stela and established the northern (stela) like the sky'. There is also a recount of the total number of stelae: *dm dw r wd 15*, 'totalling 15 stelae'.

Table 3. *šps*

Attestations	Object type	Provenance	Determinative	Inscription	Dating
Cairo CG 20043 ²³⁵	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, North Cemetery, ANOC 14.1 ²³⁶	O20 (shrine)	Appeal to the living (A)	Late 12th dynasty, Antaeopolis Workshop 4 ²³⁷
Cairo CG 20093 ²³⁸	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, North Cemetery, northern area, ANOC 49.1	O20 (shrine)	Appeal to the living (A), see also ꜥbꜣ above	Sobekhotep II ²³⁹
Cairo CG 20100 ²⁴⁰	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, North Cemetery, northern area, ANOC 19.2	Z1 (stroke) and O39 (stone)	Appeal to the living (A)	13th dynasty ²⁴¹
BM EA 240 ²⁴²	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	No determinative	Appeal to the living (A)	Sobekhotep to Neferhotep I ²⁴³
BM EA 248 ²⁴⁴	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	No determinative	Appeal to the living (A)	13th dynasty
BM EA 471 ²⁴⁵	Naos-type stela, rectangular with cavetto	Unknown, probably from Abydos	No determinative	Appeal to the living (A)	13th dynasty, Theban owner ²⁴⁶

²³⁵ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I, 53; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, pl. 24.

²³⁶ Perhaps not a group; see Franke, Personendaten, no. 194.

²³⁷ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 152–153; see also Franke, Personendaten, no. 194.

²³⁸ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I, 113–114; Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pl. ix; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, pl. 67; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 174–175.

²³⁹ Franke, Personendaten, no. 622.

²⁴⁰ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I, 121–122; Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pl. x; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, pl. 29.

²⁴¹ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 201; see also Franke, Personendaten, nos 326, 350.

²⁴² Budge, HT II, 9, pl. 32; M. Lichtheim, Maat in Egyptian autobiographies and related studies, OBO 120, Freiburg–Göttingen 1992, 170; Grajetzki, Two treasurers, 43; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 146; Franke–Marée, Egyptian stelae in the British Museum, 103–106, pl. 22.

²⁴³ Grajetzki–Stefanović, Dossiers of ancient Egyptians, no. 128.

²⁴⁴ Budge, HT III, 6, pl. 8; Grajetzki–Stefanović, Dossiers of ancient Egyptians, no. 16; Franke–Marée, Egyptian stelae in the British Museum, 123–125, pl. 28.

²⁴⁵ E. A. W. Budge, Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae &c. in the British Museum V, London 1914, 5, pl. 6; Grajetzki, Die höchsten Beamten, 159; Franke–Marée, Egyptian stelae in the British Museum, 159–161, pl. 39.

²⁴⁶ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 190; see also Franke, Personendaten, nos 55, 767.

	cornice and hollowed niche				
BM EA 504 ²⁴⁷	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	Z1 (stroke) and O39 (stone)	Appeal to the living (A)	13th dynasty, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 3 ²⁴⁸
Toulouse, Georges Labit Museum 49.273 (=S-6) ²⁴⁹	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	Unclear, perhaps N21 (land) and Z1 (stroke)	Appeal to the living (A)	Second Intermediate Period
Toulouse, Georges Labit Museum 49.274 (=S-2) ²⁵⁰	Stela, rectangular	Abydos, ANOC 55.4	No determinative	Appeal to the living (D)	Late 12th to early 13th dynasty ²⁵¹
Vienna ÄS 166 ²⁵²	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	Y1 (papyrus roll)	Appeal to the living (A)	13th to 17th dynasty
Vienna ÄS 186 ²⁵³	Naos, miniature chapel with statue in niche	Unknown, probably from Abydos	No determinative	Appeal to the living (A)	13th dynasty, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 2 ²⁵⁴
Turin, Museo Egizio Cat. 1628 ²⁵⁵	Stela, round topped with decorated lunette and cavetto cornice	Unknown, probably from Abydos, ANOC 55.2	No determinative	Appeal to the living (A)	Late 12th dynasty, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 8 ²⁵⁶
Florence, Museo Archeologico 2561 ²⁵⁷	Stela, rectangular with cavetto	Unknown, probably from	O20 (shrine)	Appeal to the living (A)	13th dynasty ²⁵⁸

²⁴⁷ Budge, HT III, 7, pl. 13; Franke–Marée, Egyptian stelae in the British Museum, 166–168, pl. 41.

²⁴⁸ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 88–89.

²⁴⁹ Ramond, Les stèles égyptiennes du Musée G. Labit à Toulouse, 23–25, pl. vi.

²⁵⁰ Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, pl. 74; Ramond, Les stèles égyptiennes du Musée G. Labit à Toulouse, 5–9, pl. ii.

²⁵¹ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 260.

²⁵² Hein–Satzinger, Stelen des Mittleren Reiches I, 4, 103–106; Grajetzki–Stefanović, Dossiers of ancient Egyptians, no. 209.

²⁵³ Hein–Satzinger, Stelen des Mittleren Reiches II, 7, 112–127.

²⁵⁴ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 88; see also Franke, Personendaten, nos 278, 416, 524.

²⁵⁵ Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, pl. 74; G. Rosati Castellucci, The funerary stelae of the Middle Kingdom, in: A. M. Donadoni Roveri (ed.), Egyptian civilization: religious beliefs, Milan–Turin 1988, 108, fig. 142; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 172–173; G. Rosati, A rare formula on a thirteenth dynasty stela, in: M. Marée (ed.), The Second Intermediate Period (thirteenth–seventeenth dynasties): current research, future prospects, OLA 192, Leuven 2010, 85–90.

²⁵⁶ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 86; see also Franke, Personendaten, nos 97, 599.

²⁵⁷ Schiaparelli, Museo Archeologico di Firenze, 258–259, no. 1546; Bosticco, Le stele egiziane, 41, pl. 32; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, pl. 50.

²⁵⁸ Franke, Personendaten, nos 336, 447; Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 228.

	cornice	Abydos, ANOC 32.2			
Florence, Museo Archeologico 2590 ²⁵⁹	Stela, round- topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos, ANOC 44.2	O20 (shrine)	Appeal to the living (A)	Sobekhotep III or Sobekhotep IV ²⁶⁰
Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7311 ²⁶¹	Stela, round- topped, destroyed in WWII, only one block left	Unknown, probably from Abydos, ANOC 22.3	Z1 (stroke) and O39 (stone)	Appeal to the living (A)	13th dynasty, time of the treasurer Senbi, Memphis- Faiyum Region Workshop 3 ²⁶²
Zagreb, Archaeological Museum Inv. 592 ²⁶³	Stela, round- topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	No determinative	Appeal to the living (A)	13th dynasty, time of treasurer Senebsumai, Memphis- Faiyum Region Workshop 2 ²⁶⁴
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek AEIN 964 ²⁶⁵	Stela, round- topped	Abydos, ANOC 59.2	O1 (house)	Appeal to the living (A)	Sobekhotep II ²⁶⁶
Tübingen, Ägyptologisches Institut 458 ²⁶⁷	Stela, round- topped	Abydos	O1 (house)	Appeal to the living (A)	Time of Neferhotep I to Sobekhotep

²⁵⁹ Schiaparelli, Museo Archeologico di Firenze, 239–241, no. 1540; Bosticco, *Le stele egiziane*, 29, pl. 24; Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*, pl. 63; Shubert, *Those who (still) live on earth*, 139–140.

²⁶⁰ Franke, *Personendaten*, no. 309; Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 228.

²⁶¹ Schäfer–Wreszinski–Ranke, *Aegyptische Inschriften I*, 179–180; Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*, pl. 32; Grajetzki, *Two treasurers*, 43–44.

²⁶² Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 88–89; see also Franke, *Personendaten*, nos 328, 366, 389, 516, 517, 628, 674; Grajetzki–Stefanović, *Dossiers of ancient Egyptians*, nos 133, 136, 198.

²⁶³ Monnet Saleh, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb*, 22–23, no. 8; Grajetzki, *Two treasurers*, 64–65; Uranić, *Aegyptiaca Zagrabiensia*, 77–79, no. 102.

²⁶⁴ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 88; see also Grajetzki–Stefanović, *Dossiers of ancient Egyptians*, nos 144, 194.

²⁶⁵ Mogensen, *La collection égyptienne*, 93, A 690, pl. xcix; Koefoed-Petersen, *Les stèles égyptiennes*, 15–17, no. 16, pls 16a–b; Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*, pl. 81; Jørgensen, *Catalogue, Egypt I*, 190–191, no. 79.

²⁶⁶ Franke, *Personendaten*, nos 60, 179, 222, 249, 301, 373, 381, 748, 753; Grajetzki–Stefanović, *Dossiers of ancient Egyptians*, nos 56, 89, 168; see also Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 250.

²⁶⁷ Spiegelberg–Pörtner, *Ägyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine I*, 3–4, no. 4, pl. ii; Brunner-Traut–Brunner, *Die ägyptische Sammlung Tübingen*, 87–88, pl. 57; D. P. Silverman, *The appeal of Sobek-hotep*, in: T. A. Bács (ed.), *A tribute to excellence: studies offered in honor of Ernő Gaál*, Ulrich Luft, László Török, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 17, Budapest 2002, 421–433; Landesmuseum Württemberg, *Ägyptische Mumien: Unsterblichkeit im Land der Pharaonen*, Mainz am Rhein–Stuttgart 2007, 186–187, no. 167; Shubert, *Those who (still) live on earth*, 167–168.

					IV, Theban Workshop 4 ²⁶⁸
Inscription near Aswan ²⁶⁹	Rock inscription	Near Aswan	No determinative (reading uncertain, transcription looks like a child with hand to mouth)	Appeal to the living (A)	Uncertain
Inscription near Aswan ²⁷⁰	Rock inscription	Near Aswan	No determinative	Appeal to the living (A)	13th dynasty ²⁷¹
Total: 20 monuments (20 attestations)					

²⁶⁸ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 105–106; Franke, Personendaten, no. 587.

²⁶⁹ W. M. Fl. Petrie, A season in Egypt, 1887, London 1888, no. 139; J. de Morgan, Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique I: Haute Égypte. Tome premier. De la frontière de Nubie à Kom Ombos, Vienna 1894, 12, no. 49.

²⁷⁰ Petrie, A season in Egypt, nos 140, 147, 148; Morgan, Catalogue des monuments I, 15, no. 70.

²⁷¹ Franke, Personendaten, no. 737.

Table 4. *srh*

Attestations	Object type	Provenance	Determinative	Inscription	Dating
BM EA 574 ²⁷²	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos, ANOC 42.2	Rectangular sign, similar to O26 (round-topped stela), but with straight top	Request to the living not to damage the monument; ²⁷³ see also <i>m^ch^ct</i> below	Amenemhet II ²⁷⁴
Kumma ²⁷⁵	Rock inscription	Kumma, west face of second ravine east of fort	O26 (round-topped stela)	Appeal to the living (A)	Year 9 of Amenemhet III ²⁷⁶
Shrine, location unknown ²⁷⁷	Shrine with inner niche, apparently for a torch	Dahshur	Rectangular sign, similar to O26 (round-topped stela), but with straight top	Appeal to the living (D)	Amenemhet II ²⁷⁸
Total: 3 monuments (3 attestations)					

²⁷² Budge, HT II, pls 8–9; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, pl. 61; Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian autobiographies, 96–98; Landgráfová, It is my good name that you should remember, 182–184.

²⁷³ *rm^tw im³ ib n m^ch^ct=i drt n srh=i dr-ntt n ir=i d³it*, ‘people, be kind of heart to my *m^ch^ct* and (kind of) hand to my stela, because I have done no evil’.

²⁷⁴ Franke, Personendaten, no. 597.

²⁷⁵ Dunham–Janssen, Semna, Kumma, 165, RIK 118, pl. 102f.

²⁷⁶ Franke, Personendaten, no. 2.

²⁷⁷ A. Fakhry, The monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur. Volume II. The Valley temple. Part 2. The finds, Cairo 1961, 63–69, see esp. fig. 387, pl. lxviii–lxix.

²⁷⁸ Fakhry, The monuments of Sneferu II, 64; see also Franke, Personendaten, no. 701.

Table 5. *mḥt*

Attestations	Object type	Provenance	Determinative	Inscription	Dating
Cairo CG 20099 ²⁷⁹	Stela, rectangular	Abydos, north enclosure wall, Kom es-Sultan	O1 (house)	Building inscription (A)	Mid-12th dynasty ²⁸⁰
Cairo CG 20119 ²⁸¹	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, North Cemetery	No determinative	Appeal to the living (A)	Senusret III and early Amenemhet III, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 2 ²⁸²
Cairo CG 20141 ²⁸³	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, North Cemetery	O20 (shrine)	Appeal to the living (A)	Uncertain date
Cairo CG 20153 ²⁸⁴	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, north enclosure wall, Kom es-Sultan	O1 (house)	Building inscription (B)	Senusret III and early Amenemhet III, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 1 ²⁸⁵
Cairo CG 20224 ²⁸⁶	Stela, rectangular, horizontal	Abydos	O1 (house)	Appeal to the living (A), partially reconstructed	Uncertain date
Cairo CG 20303 ²⁸⁷	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, North Cemetery	O1 (house)	Appeal to the living (A), a ' <i>mḥt</i> ' of the necropolis'	Mid- to late 12th dynasty, Antaeopolis

²⁷⁹ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I, 119–121; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, 10–11; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weihen, 478.

²⁸⁰ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 201.

²⁸¹ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I, 141–142; Arachne database 136767.

²⁸² Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 82–83.

²⁸³ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I, 166–167; Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pl. xiii.

²⁸⁴ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I, 180–181; Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pl. xiv; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, 11; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weihen, 478.

²⁸⁵ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 80–81.

²⁸⁶ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I, 244.

²⁸⁷ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I, 315–316.

					local workshop ²⁸⁸
Cairo CG 20346 ²⁸⁹	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, North Cemetery	No determinative	Appeal to the living (A), ‘this <i>mḥꜥt</i> of eternity’	Mid- to late 12th dynasty ²⁹⁰
Cairo CG 20348 ²⁹¹	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, North Cemetery	O1 (house)	Appeal to the living (A)	12th dynasty
Cairo CG 20401 ²⁹²	Stela, round-topped	Unknown	O1 (house)	Appeal to the living (A)	Senusret III and early Amenemhet III, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 1 ²⁹³
Cairo CG 20497 ²⁹⁴	Stela, rectangular with cavetto cornice and mummyiform figures in very high relief	Unknown, probably from Abydos	O1 (house)	Building inscription (B), followed by a shortened appeal to the living	Senusret III and early Amenemhet III, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 1 ²⁹⁵
Cairo CG 20515 ²⁹⁶	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, ANOC 30.1	O1 (house)	Appeal to the living (A)	Year 10 of Senusret I, Memphis-Faiyum Region local workshop ²⁹⁷

²⁸⁸ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 205.

²⁸⁹ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I, 356–358; Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pl. xxvi.

²⁹⁰ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 206.

²⁹¹ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I, 359–360; Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pl. xxvi.

²⁹² Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs II, 2–4; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 125.

²⁹³ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 80–81.

²⁹⁴ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs II, 88–89; Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pl. xxxiii; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, 12; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weißen, 479; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 111.

²⁹⁵ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 80–81; see also Franke, Personendaten, no. 77.

²⁹⁶ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs II, 105–108; Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pl. xxxv; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, pl. 46; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weißen, 105; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 144.

²⁹⁷ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 209; see also Franke, Personendaten, nos 337, 338; Freed, Stela workshops, 317–320, workshop no. 7.

Cairo CG 20538 ²⁹⁸	Stela, round-topped, double-sided (stela of Sehetepibre)	Abydos, north enclosure wall, Kom es-Sultan	O1 (house) in all three occurrences	Appeal to the living (C); building inscription (B); appeal to the living (A); see also <i>wḏ</i> above	Amenemhet III ²⁹⁹
Cairo CG 20539 ³⁰⁰	Stela, round-topped, double-sided (stela of Montuhotep)	Abydos, north enclosure wall, Kom es-Sultan, ANOC no number ³⁰¹	X2 (bread) first occurrence, O18 (shrine seen from the side), three other occurrences	Appeal to the living (to establish a <i>mḥt</i>), ³⁰² building inscription implying gift from the king, ³⁰³ building inscription (variant of B), appeal to the living (C); see also <i>wḏ</i> above	Senusret I to Amenemhet II ³⁰⁴
Cairo CG 20609 ³⁰⁵	Stela, round-topped	Unknown	O1 (house)	Appeal to the living (A), partially reconstructed	Uncertain date
Cairo CG 20683 ³⁰⁶	Stela, round-topped	Gadra, south Abydos, ANOC 1.5	O1 (house)	Appeal to the living (A)	Senusret III and early Amenemhet III ³⁰⁷

²⁹⁸ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs II, 145–50; Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pl. xl; Kamal, in: ASAE 38; Kamal, in: ASAE 40; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, 11; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weißen, 78–79, 482; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 178–180; Grajetzki, Court officials, pl. 5; Landgráfová, It is my good name that you should remember, 219–225.

²⁹⁹ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 209; see also Franke, Personendaten, no. 692.

³⁰⁰ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs II, 150–158; Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pl. xli–xlii; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, 11; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weißen, 479; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 132–134; Landgráfová, It is my good name that you should remember, 167–179.

³⁰¹ Berlev in: BiOr 33; Franke, Personendaten, no. 262.

³⁰² *dd srw[d]=tn-w[i] mḥt-tn m st=s-tn r-nhh*, ‘speak so that you may establish for me this *mḥt* in this its place forever’.

³⁰³ *[iw wḏ.n nswt rdit ir.tw n=]k mḥt r rwd n ntr ʕ3 nb 3bdw*, ‘[The king commanded that] a *mḥt* [be made for] you at the terrace of the great god, lord of Abydos’.

³⁰⁴ Franke, Personendaten, no. 262.

³⁰⁵ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs II, 248–249.

³⁰⁶ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs II, 310–311; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, pl. 2; J. C. Darnell, The chief baker, in: JEA 75, 1989, 216–219; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 106–107.

³⁰⁷ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 213; see also Franke, Personendaten, nos 27, 155.

Cairo CG 20691 ³⁰⁸	Stela, round-topped	Abydos	O1 (house)	Building inscription (B)	Senusret III and early Amenemhet III, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 1 ³⁰⁹
Cairo CG 20733 ³¹⁰	Stela, rectangular	Abydos, North Cemetery (in the same tomb as CG 20127)	O1 (house)	Building inscription (C)	Year 13 of Senusret III, Theban owner ³¹¹
Cairo CG 20748 ³¹²	Stela, round-topped, with rectangular window	Abydos, north enclosure wall, Kom es-Sultan, ANOC 34.2	O1 (house) in both occurrences	Dedication formula (C); appeal to the living (A)	Senusret III and early Amenemhet III, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 2 ³¹³
Cairo JE 43461 ³¹⁴	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, in surface sand near tomb C 81, ANOC 46.1	O1 (house)	Harpist's song ³¹⁵	Sobekhotep IV, Theban Workshop 4 ³¹⁶
BM EA 202 ³¹⁷	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, ANOC 1.6	O1 (house)	Dedication formula (variant of A); see also 'b3 above	Senusret III to Amenemhet III, Memphis-Faiyum

³⁰⁸ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs II, 318–319; Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pl. lii; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weißen, 478.

³⁰⁹ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 80–81.

³¹⁰ Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs II, 363–365; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, 11; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weißen, 477–478.

³¹¹ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 214; see also Franke, Personendaten, nos 257, 283; Grajetzki–Stefanović, Dossiers of ancient Egyptians, no. 95.

³¹² Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs II, 381–382; Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV, pl. lvii; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, pl. 52; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 145–146.

³¹³ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 82–83; see also Franke, Personendaten, nos 353, 721.

³¹⁴ T. E. Peet, The cemeteries of Abydos II: 1911–1912, MEEF 34, London 1914, pl. xxiii.5; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, pl. 64; Grajetzki, Two treasurers, 65–66.

³¹⁵ *mn.wy-ṭw m st=k nt nhḥ m mḥṯ=k nt dt*, 'how established you are in your place of eternity, in your mḥṯ of everlastingness'.

³¹⁶ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 105–106.

³¹⁷ Budge, HT III, pl. 11; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, 11, pl. 3.

					Region Workshop 2 ³¹⁸
BM EA 567 ³¹⁹	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos, ANOC 13.2	O1 (house)	Building inscription (F)	Year 13 of Amenemhet II ³²⁰
BM EA 573 ³²¹	Stela, round-topped	Abydos	O1 (house)	Building inscription (D)	Year 6 of Senusret II
BM EA 574 ³²²	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos, ANOC 42.2	O1 (house)	Request to the living not to damage the monument; ³²³ see also <i>srh</i> above	Amenemhet II ³²⁴
BM EA 575 ³²⁵	Stela, round-topped with hollowed niche	Unknown, probably from Abydos, ANOC 43.2	O1 (house)	Building inscription (A)	Year 7 of Senusret III ³²⁶
BM EA 579 ³²⁷	Stela, rectangular	Unknown, probably from Abydos	O1 (house)	Appeal to the living (A)	12th dynasty
BM EA 581 ³²⁸	Stela, rectangular	Abydos, ANOC 5.2	O1 (house)	Building inscription (C), without the initial <i>m</i> -	Senusret I ³²⁹
BM EA 584 ³³⁰	Stela, square	Unknown, probably	O1 (house)	Appeal to the living (A)	12th dynasty ³³¹

³¹⁸ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 82–83; see also Franke, Personendaten, nos 27, 254.

³¹⁹ Budge, HT II, pl. 5; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, 12, pl. 22; Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian autobiographies, 114–146; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weißen, 479.

³²⁰ Franke, Personendaten, no. 74.

³²¹ Budge, HT II, pl. 6; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, 13; Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian autobiographies, 94–95; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weißen, 479.

³²² Budge, HT II, pls 8–9; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, pl. 61; Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian autobiographies, 96–98; Landgráfová, It is my good name that you should remember, 182–184.

³²³ *rmtw im3 ib n m^ch^t=i drt n srh=i dr-ntt n ir=i d3it*, ‘people, be kind of heart to my *m^ch^t* and (kind of) hand to my stela, because I have done no evil’.

³²⁴ Franke, Personendaten, no. 597.

³²⁵ Budge, HT II, pl. 18; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, 12, pl. 62; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weißen, 479; Landgráfová, It is my good name that you should remember, 208–209.

³²⁶ Franke, Personendaten, no. 151.

³²⁷ Budge, HT II, pl. 15; J. Bourriau–S. Quirke, Pharaohs and mortals: Egyptian art in the Middle Kingdom; exhibition organised by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge 19 April to 26 June, Liverpool 18 July to 4 September 1988, Cambridge 1988, 29–31, no. 20; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 126.

³²⁸ Budge, HT II, pl. 23; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, pl. 12; Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian autobiographies, 109–111; Landgráfová, It is my good name that you should remember, 112–114.

³²⁹ Franke, Personendaten, no. 138; see also Freed, Stela workshops, 323–327, workshop no. 9.

³³⁰ Budge, HT II, pl. 14; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weißen, 100; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 152.

³³¹ Franke, Personendaten, no. 286.

		from Abydos			
BM EA 805 ³³²	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	No determinative in both occurrences	Dedication formula (C) and appeal to the living (A), without the initial <i>m</i> -	Senusret III to Amenemhet III, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 2 ³³³
BM EA 893 ³³⁴	Stela, round-topped, broken bottom	Thebes	Z1 (stroke) and Z3 (plural strokes)	Within a hymn to Osiris (<i>nb ḥwt</i> , ‘lord of the <i>mḥt</i> -chapels’), without the initial <i>m</i> -	13th dynasty ³³⁵
Vienna ÄS 109 ³³⁶	Stela, round-topped with openwork ankh and niches with mummiform figures in very high relief	Unknown, probably from Abydos	O1 (house)	Building inscription (B)	Senusret III and early Amenemhet III, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 1 ³³⁷
Florence, Museo Archeologico 2571 ³³⁸	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	No determinative	Appeal to the living (A)	Senusret III and early Amenemhet III, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 2 ³³⁹

³³² Budge, HT III, pl. 40; J. H. Taylor–N. Strudwick, *Mummies: death and the afterlife in ancient Egypt. Treasures from the British Museum*, Santa Ana CA 2005, 144–145.

³³³ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 82–83; see also Franke, *Personendaten*, no. 779; Grajetzki–Stefanović, *Dossiers of ancient Egyptians*, no. 234.

³³⁴ Budge, HT IV, pls 48–9; S. Hassan, *Hymnes religieux du Moyen Empire*, Cairo 1928, 84–99; Franke, *Middle Kingdom hymns*, 98.

³³⁵ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 192.

³³⁶ Hein–Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches II*, 7,37–44; Grallert, *Bauen—Stiften—Weißen*, 479; Landesmuseum Württemberg, *Ägyptische Mumien*, 186–187, no. 165; Oppenheim et al. (eds), *Ancient Egypt transformed*, 267–268, no. 203; Whelan, *On the context and conception of two ‘trademark’ styles*.

³³⁷ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 80–81; see also Franke, *Personendaten*, no. 650.

³³⁸ Schiaparelli, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, 241–243, no. 1541; Bosticco, *Le stele egiziane*, 43–44, pl. 38.

³³⁹ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 82–83.

Leiden AP 32 ³⁴⁰	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	O1 (house)	Building inscription (D) without the initial <i>m</i> -	Late 12th dynasty ³⁴¹
Leiden AP 69 ³⁴²	Stela, rectangular with cavetto cornice	Unknown, probably from Abydos, ANOC 40.2	O1 (house)	Building inscription (E)	Mid- to late 12th dynasty ³⁴³
Leiden AP 72–73; 74–76 ³⁴⁴	Stela, rectangular with cavetto cornice	Unknown, probably from Abydos	O1 (house)	Building inscription (F)	Year 9 of Amenemhet II
Louvre C 5 ³⁴⁵	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, ANOC 1.7	O1 (house)	Appeal to the living (A); see also <i>wḏ</i> above	Year 1 of Amenemhet III, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 1 ³⁴⁶
Louvre C 15 ³⁴⁷	Stela, broken top	Unknown, probably from Abydos	O1 (house), but beginning of term missing	Building inscription (variant of C)	Late 11th dynasty
Louvre C 170 [E.3110] ³⁴⁸	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	O1 (house)	Building inscription (C), mentioning terrace of great god	Year 2 of Senusret II ³⁴⁹
Louvre C 172	Stela, round-	Unknown,	O1 (house)	Appeal to the	Year 3 of

³⁴⁰ Leemans, *Description raisonnée*, V 97; Boeser, *Catalogus II*, 45, no. 48; Boeser, *Beschreibung II*, 9, pl. xxiii, no. 32.

³⁴¹ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 237.

³⁴² Leemans, *Description raisonnée*, V 79; Boeser, *Catalogus II*, 38, no. 8; Boeser, *Beschreibung II*, 10, pl. xxvi, no. 36; Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*, pl. 58; Grallert, *Bauen—Stiften—Weißen*, 480–481.

³⁴³ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 237; see also Franke, *Personendaten*, nos 281, 468; Grajetzki–Stefanović, *Dossiers of ancient Egyptians*, no. 91.

³⁴⁴ Leemans, *Description raisonnée*, V 6; Boeser, *Catalogus II*, 36, no. 4; Boeser, *Beschreibung II*, 3, pl. iii, no. 4; Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*, 12; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian autobiographies*, 111–113; Grallert, *Bauen—Stiften—Weißen*, 479–480; Shubert, *Those who (still) live on earth*, 116; Landgráfová, *It is my good name that you should remember*, 190–192.

³⁴⁵ Gayet, *Musée du Louvre: stèles de la XIIe dynastie*, pls viii–ix; Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*, pl. 3; Shubert, *Those who (still) live on earth*, 164–165.

³⁴⁶ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 80–81; see also Franke, *Personendaten*, nos 94, 235, 551, 705, 770.

³⁴⁷ Gayet, *Musée du Louvre: stèles de la XIIe dynastie*, pl. liv; Schenkel, *Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben*, 295–298; Grallert, *Bauen—Stiften—Weißen*, 683; Barbotin, *La voix des hieroglyphs*, 140–141; Landgráfová, *It is my good name that you should remember*, 88–91.

³⁴⁸ Gayet, *Musée du Louvre: stèles de la XIIe dynastie*, pl. xxvii–xxviii; Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*, 12; Grallert, *Bauen—Stiften—Weißen*, 101, 480; Landgráfová, *It is my good name that you should remember*, 202–203.

³⁴⁹ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 242.

[E.3109] ³⁵⁰	topped, two fragments with middle section missing	probably from Abydos		living (A)	Amenemhet II ³⁵¹
Louvre C 186 [E.3119] ³⁵²	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	O1 (house)	Building inscription (A)	Mid- to late 12th dynasty ³⁵³
Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1191 ³⁵⁴	Stela, oblong-shaped with round top and bottom	Unknown, probably from Abydos, ANOC 40.1	O1 (house)	Building inscription (E)	Second half of 12th dynasty ³⁵⁵
Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1199 ³⁵⁶	Stela, rectangular	Unknown, probably from Abydos	O1 (house)	Building inscription (E), starting with an ḥ ^c .n construction	Year 34 Senusret I
Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1204 ³⁵⁷	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, ANOC 1.1	O1 (house)	Narrative about the mysteries of Osiris ³⁵⁸	Senusret III, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 2 ³⁵⁹
Basel, Museum für Völkerkunde III 5002 ³⁶⁰	Stela, round-topped with niche for mummiform	Abydos ANOC 1.8	O20 (shrine) in both occurrences	Dedication formula (C) and appeal to the living (A)	Senusret III to Amenemhet III,

³⁵⁰ S. Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions, from the British Museum and other Sources*, London 1837, pl. 82; Landgráfová, *It is my good name that you should remember*, 188–189.

³⁵¹ Freed, *Stela workshops*, 327–334, workshop no. 10.

³⁵² Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, pl. 108.

³⁵³ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 243; see also Franke, *Personendaten*, nos 66, 348.

³⁵⁴ Schäfer–Wreszinski–Ranke, *Aegyptische Inschriften I*, 184–185; Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*, 12, pl. 58; Grallert, *Bauen—Stiften—Weißen*, 481.

³⁵⁵ Franke, *Personendaten*, nos 281, 468.

³⁵⁶ H. Schäfer, *Ein Zug nach den großen Oase unter Sesostri I.*, in: *ZÄS* 42, 1905, 124–128; Schäfer–Wreszinski–Ranke, *Aegyptische Inschriften I*, 164–165; Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*, 13; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian autobiographies*, 93–94; Grallert, *Bauen—Stiften—Weißen*, 481; Landgráfová, *It is my good name that you should remember*, 128–129.

³⁵⁷ H. Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostri III.*, nach dem Denkstein des Oberschatzmeisters I-cher-nofret, *UGAÄ* 4, Leipzig 1904; Schäfer–Wreszinski–Ranke, *Aegyptische Inschriften I*, 169–175, with corrections in 209; Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*, pl. 1; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian autobiographies*, 98–100; Landgráfová, *It is my good name that you should remember*, 204–207.

³⁵⁸ *iw dsr.n=i w3wt ntr r mḥ^cf=f hntyt pkr*, ‘I cleared the ways of the god to his tomb south of Poqer’.

³⁵⁹ Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 82–83; see also Franke, *Personendaten*, nos 27, 94, 254, 551.

³⁶⁰ E. Naville, *Une stèle funéraire au Musée de Bâle*, in: *Archives suisses d’Anthropologie générale* 3, 1919, 200–205; Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*, pl. 3; H. A. Schlögl, *Geschenk des Nils: ägyptische Kunstwerke aus Schweizer Besitz: eine Ausstellung des Ägyptologischen Seminars der Universität Basel in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Schweizerischen Bankverein*, Basel 1978, 47–48, pl. 153; Shubert, *Those who (still) live on earth*, 163–164; P. Whelan, *An unfinished late Middle Kingdom stela from Abydos*, in: S. Grallert–W. Grajetzki (eds), *Life and afterlife in ancient Egypt during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period*,

	figure				Dynasty 12, Memphis- Faiyum Region Workshop 2 ³⁶¹
Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire D50 ³⁶²	Stela, round- topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos, ANOC 1.9	Undetermined flat rectangular sign; it could be O1 (house)	Appeal to the living (A)	Year 19 of Senusret III, Memphis- Faiyum Region Workshop 2 ³⁶³
St Petersburg, Hermitage Inv. 1081 ³⁶⁴	Stela, rectangular with cavetto cornice	Unknown, probably from Abydos, ANOC xix.2	O1 (house)	Appeal to the living (A), unusual writing as <i>miḥʿt</i> (with <i>mi</i> sign, yod and <i>ḥʿ</i> sign)	Mid- to late 12th dynasty ³⁶⁵
Petrie Museum UC14385 ³⁶⁶	Stela, broken	Temple of Osiris at Abydos	O1 (house)	Building inscription (C)	12th dynasty
Petrie Museum UC14430 ³⁶⁷	Stela, broken	Temple of Osiris at Abydos	Broken	Narrative, broken but apparently similar to Louvre C 1 (about the text being a true account)	Early 12th dynasty
Copenhagen, National Museum of	Stela, round- topped	Abydos, ANOC 2.4 ³⁶⁹	O1 (house)	Building inscription (variant of A),	Amenemhet III ³⁷⁰

GHP Egyptology 7, London 2007: 150–151; F. Morföisse–G. Andreu-Lanoë, Sesostris III: Pharaon de légende, Heule 2014, 195; Whelan, On the context and conception of two ‘trademark’ styles, esp. 287–291.

³⁶¹ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 82–83; see also Franke, Personendaten, nos 551, 770.

³⁶² W. B. Spiegelberg et al., Ägyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen. Teil III, 3 vols, Strasbourg 1902, 1–4, pl. i; E. Naville, Une stèle funéraire égyptienne, in: Société auxiliaire du Musée de Genève, Mélanges publiés à l’occasion du 25^{me} anniversaire de la Société, Genève 1922, 45–52; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, pl. 4; Schlögl, Geschenk des Nils, 48–49, pl. 154.

³⁶³ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 82–83; see also Franke, Personendaten, nos 27, 94, 551.

³⁶⁴ Bolshakov–Quirke, The Middle Kingdom stelae in the Hermitage, 83–87, no. 18; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 143–144.

³⁶⁵ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 233; see also Franke, Personendaten, nos 86, 590.

³⁶⁶ W. M. Fl. Petrie, Abydos. Part I. 1902, MEES 22, London 1902, 31, pl. lxi.6; Stewart, Egyptian stelae II, 21–22, no. 90, pl. 20; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weißen, 478; Landgráfová, It is my good name that you should remember, 230–231.

³⁶⁷ E. R. Ayrton–C. T. Currelly–A. E. P. B. Weigall, Abydos III, MEEF 25, 3 vols, London 1904, 42, 52, pl. xxix.1; Stewart, Egyptian stelae II, 22, no. 91, pl. 21; Landgráfová, It is my good name that you should remember, 226–228.

Denmark Aad 13 ³⁶⁸				without the initial <i>m</i> -	
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek AEIN 891 ³⁷¹	Inscription fragment, perhaps a rectangular stela, probably from a tomb	Dra Abu el-Naga, tomb of Antef son of Myt	O1 (house), inscription broken	Building inscription (variant of A) ³⁷²	Mentuhotep II
Los Angeles County Museum 50.33.31 (previously A.5141.50-876) ³⁷³	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	O1 (house) and Z1 (stroke)	Building inscription (variant of C) mentioning terrace of the great god inserted in narrative passage	Senusret I
Manchester 3306 ³⁷⁴	Stela, round-topped	Abydos, Cemetery E, tomb 11, ANOC 69.1	O1 (house)	Building inscription (B)	Senusret III, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 1 ³⁷⁵
Pittsburgh, Carnegie Museum of Natural History Acc. 9007-57 ³⁷⁶	Stela, broken top and bottom	Et-Tod, East bank between Thebes and Elkab	O1 (house)	Narrative explaining how Montu caused him to build a house and a <i>m^ch^ct</i> ³⁷⁷	First half of 13th dynasty ³⁷⁸

³⁶⁹ Berlev claims that this stela does not belong to ANOC 2.4; see Berlev in: BiOr 33, 325.

³⁷⁰ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 235; see also Franke, Personendaten, no. 101.

³⁶⁸ M. Mogensen, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques du Musée national de Copenhague, Copenhagen 1918, pl. xii, fig. 14; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, pl. 7.

³⁷¹ H. O. Lange, Zwei Inschriften der Fürsten von Hermonthis, in: ZÄS 34, 1896, 25–35; Mogensen, La collection égyptienne, 92–93, A 689, pl. xcvi; Clère–Vandier, Textes de la première période intermédiaire, 45–46; Schenkel, Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben, 231–234; Landgráfová, It is my good name that you should remember, 40–42.

³⁷² [k]d[.n=i m^ch^c]t-tn n ^ch^cw=i s^ch^c.n=i 3wt=s, ‘[I] bu[ilt] this [m^ch^c]t in my lifetime, I set up its columns’.

³⁷³ R. O. Faulkner, The stela of the master-sculptor Shen, in: JEA 38, 1952, 3–5; Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian autobiographies, 90–92; Obsomer, Sésostris Ier, 542–546; Spalinger, The private feast lists, pl. 2; Shubert, Those who (still) live on earth, 181–182; Landgráfová, It is my good name that you should remember, 124–126; Oppenheim et al. (eds), Ancient Egypt transformed, 153–154, no. 87.

³⁷⁴ J. Garstang–P. E. Newberry–J. G. Milne, El Arábah: a cemetery of the Middle Kingdom. Survey of the Old Kingdom Temenos, ERA 6, London 1901, pls iv–v; T. E. Peet, The stela of Sebek-khu: the earliest record of an Egyptian campaign in Asia, The Manchester Museum Handbooks 76, Manchester 1914; Simpson, The terrace of the great god at Abydos, 11, pl. 31; J. Baines, The stela of Khusobek: private and royal military narrative and values, in: J. Osing–G. Dreyer (eds), Form und Mass: Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten. Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. Februar 1987, Wiesbaden 1987, 43–61; Grallert, Bauen—Stiften—Weißen, 478; Landgráfová, It is my good name that you should remember, 210–213; Oppenheim et al. (eds), Ancient Egypt transformed, 166, no. 99.

³⁷⁵ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 80–81; see also Franke, Personendaten, no. 455.

³⁷⁶ Patch, Reflections of greatness, 110; Kubisch, Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit, 302–303, pl. 10b.

Stela, location unknown ³⁷⁹	Stela, round-topped	Abydos	No determinative in both occurrences	Dedication formula (C) and appeal to the living (A)	Senusret III, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 2 ³⁸⁰
Boston, MFA 2015.2159 ³⁸¹	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos	O1 (house) and Z1 (stroke)	Threat; ³⁸² see also <i>wḏ</i> above	Late 12th dynasty, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 5 ³⁸³
Rio de Janeiro 627 [2419] ³⁸⁴	Stela, round-topped	Unknown, probably from Abydos, ANOC vi.2 (2417 is a typo for 2419)	O1 (house)	Appeal to the living (A)	Senusret III, Memphis-Faiyum Region Workshop 1 ³⁸⁵
Tomb of Djefaihapi ³⁸⁶	Tomb inscription	Asyut, tomb 1, great hall, east wall; see also great hall, over doorway on east side	O1 (house)	Self-presentation inscription, in reference to the tomb of Osiris; ³⁸⁷ a fragmentary version of the same text (with the same determinative)	Senusret I

³⁷⁷ *dī=f ḳd=i n=i pr m-ḥnw niwt=i ir.n[=i] n=i mḥḥt hr ḥ3st*, ‘he (=Montu) caused that I build for me a house in my city after I had built for me a *mḥḥt* in the necropolis’.

³⁷⁸ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 253.

³⁷⁹ Frankfort, in: JEA 14, 240–241, no. 6, pl. xx.1, fig. 2.

³⁸⁰ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 82–83.

³⁸¹ Clère, in: BIFAO 85; Olabarria, in: ZÄS 145/1, 64–65.

³⁸² *in rmtw nbt nt smyt=i ḥk=sn r t3 mḥḥt nn ḥk d3-ib nb r=s*, ‘all the people of my *smyt* are the ones who will enter this *mḥḥt*, no impostor will enter it’.

³⁸³ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 84.

³⁸⁴ A. Childe, Estela egypcia N. 2419, in: Archivos do Museu Nacional 25, 1925, 329–334; K. A. Kitchen–M. C. Beltrão, Catálogo da coleção do Egito antigo existente no Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro = Catalogue of the Egyptian collection in the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro, 2 vols, Warminster 1990, 14–23, no. 1, pls 1–2, 107a.

³⁸⁵ Ilin-Tomich, From workshop to sanctuary, 80–81; see also Franke, Personendaten, nos 10, 100, 101, 480, 487, 498 (2417 is a typo for 2419).

³⁸⁶ F. Ll. Griffith, The inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh, London 1889, 10, pl. 5; lines 238–239; for the fragmentary parallel, see pl. 3, line 174; K. Sethe, Historisch-biographische Urkunden des Mittleren Reiches, Leipzig 1935, 56.16–57.2; Obsomer, Sésostris Ier, 575.

³⁸⁷ *db3 ḥt-s3bw nṯrw šmsw ḥrw šms nṯr r st=f mḥḥt=f imit r krrt t3-drs hr inpw*, ‘one who clothes the group of jackals, the gods of the following of Horus, who follow the god to his place, his tomb that is in the cavern of the sacred land under Anubis’.

				occurs elsewhere in the great hall	
Tomb no. 2 (now destroyed) ³⁸⁸	Tomb inscription	Asyut, tomb 2, framing of doorway	O1 (house)	Building inscription referring to the tomb of Osiris ³⁸⁹	Senusret I
Total: 57 monuments (67 attestations)					

³⁸⁸ Griffith, The inscriptions of Siût, 10, pl. 10, line 20.

³⁸⁹ *ir.n(=i) mnw r st špst m^ch^t ntr pr n wn-nfr*, '(I) built the monuments on the noble place, the divine tomb, the house of Wennefer'.